Report

Classroom Challenges for Teaching About and Addressing Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region

May 2019

Written by:

P. Weller, Cert. Ed., MA, MPhil, PhD, DLitt
Emeritus Professor and Professor and leader of the Culture, Religion and Belief Research cluster in the Centre for Social, Cultural and Legal Research,
College of Business, Law and Social Sciences,
University of Derby (http://www.derby.ac.uk), United Kingdom
Paul Weller is also Professor in the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University, United Kingdom; Research Fellow in Religion and Society, Regent's Park College and Associate Director (UK) of the Oxford Centre for Christianity and Culture and Associate Member of the Faculty of Theology and Religion, University of Oxford, United Kingdom; and Director, Religion and Belief Research and Training Ltd.

I. Foster, BA, MA, PGCHE, PhD, FHEA
Senior Lecturer, Institute of Education and Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, College of Arts, Humanities and Education, University of Derby (http://www.derby.ac.uk), United Kingdom

With various forms of assistance from:
Daniela Arnold (organizational support, Germany), Dawn Asher (financial management, University of Derby, United Kingdom), Talya Boyle (transcriptions, United Kingdom), Gillian Clarke (financial processing, University of Derby, United Kingdom), Marion Drewery (financial processing, University of Derby, United Kingdom), Daniel Eliasson (organizational support and translation, Germany), Franziska Finkbeiner (transcriptions, United Kingdom), Dervis Hizarci (organizational support, Germany), Susanne Reicher (interpretation, Germany), Kirsty Simpson (transcriptions, United Kingdom), Jane Tilford (transcriptions, United Kingdom), Eleni Toumazou (organizational support, interpretation and translation, Greece), Nanci Leiton (organizational support, United States).

Drawing on previous research conducted by:
Olga Cosovan (Moldova), Julia Galaski (Belgium), Tomasz Kasprzak (Poland), Stephanie Lecesne (Belgium), Dominika Rank (Moldova), Robin Sclafani (Belgium), Bartłomiej Walczak (Poland).

With collaborative input from CEJI – A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe:
ODIHR and the University of Derby are particularly grateful to the staff of CEJI (http://ceji.org/), Robin Sclafani (Director) and Stephanie Lecesne (Training Co-ordinator), for reviewing and contributing their important expertise to this document.

Published by the University of Derby

ISBN: 978-1-910755-26-6

This publication was published with funding from "the Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism" project. The opinions and information it contains do not necessarily reflect the policy and position of ODIHR.

Contents

Executive Summary

In multiple commitments and decisions, OSCE participating States have committed to promoting educational programmes aimed at combating anti-Semitism. In 2014, the OSCE's Ministerial Council called on participating States to promote educational programmes to combat anti-Semitism and to provide young people with opportunities for human rights education, including in relation to anti-Semitism.

Under this mandate, ODIHR has held consultations with experts on anti-Semitism to produce different educational tools that address anti-Semitism. Starting in 2016, as part of the 'Turning Words Into Action to Address Anti-Semitism' project, research was commissioned to identify key challenges in teaching about anti-Semitism and addressing anti-Semitism in classrooms throughout the OSCE region, while also recommending responses for dealing with these challenges.

This report, produced by Professor P. Weller and Dr. I. Foster of the University of Derby, United Kingdom, is based on two phases of research conducted in six OSCE participating States—Belgium, Germany, Greece, Moldova, Poland and the United States of America—between December 2016 and May 2018. The research took various forms, including focus groups, interviews, questionnaires, observations, as well as desk research based on published literature. A detailed bibliography of works consulted is provided in an appendix to the report.

The report provides background information about the history of anti-Semitism in each of the countries studied, along with recent statistics concerning reported anti-Semitic incidents in each country. The report does not compare how significant an issue anti-Semitism is in these participating States; rather, it presents an overall pattern of evidence to identify a range of key challenges with at least some relevance for teaching about and addressing anti-Semitism in classroom contexts across the OSCE region as a whole, and thus provides the basis for recommendations that could inform the development of teacher resources to meet those challenges in any OSCE participating State, not just the ones studied for this report.

The research has made clear that, while the incidence, frequency and forms of anti-Semitism may vary over time, it remains a reality in OSCE participating States. However, there is relatively little published research on anti-Semitism among young people as such, and even less that is specifically focused on teaching about anti-Semitism and/or addressing it in classroom contexts. Therefore, the primary research that informs this report makes a clear contribution to understanding anti-Semitism as it currently exists in a number of OSCE countries, albeit subject to certain limitations in terms of methodology, which are noted in the report's appendices.

The report identifies the following key challenges and provides recommendations regarding resources that could be developed for teachers in order to address the identified problem:

Challenge identified	**Recommendation**
Coming to terms with the specificities and varieties of Jewish identity	The teacher resources should promote an understanding of the diversity of contemporary Jewish identities and also critical engagement with varying definitions of anti-Semitism and propose measures to counteract anti-Semitism within the context of the diversity of Jewish identities.
Treating classrooms as an extension of the wider community with its specific challenges/opportunities	The teacher resources should include materials and guidelines for approaches that support classroom-focused teachers and their considerations of how both to teach about and address anti-Semitism in the classroom while also taking account of the interaction between the classroom and external environments.

Ensuring that students are aware of abuses of the Internet and social media	The teacher resources should assist teachers in developing the research, analytical and reflective skills necessary to help students recognize biased, false and inaccurate information while using the Internet as a helpful source of information on Jews and anti-Semitism, and to empower young people/students to deal with anti-Semitic targeting on social media.
Ensuring alignment along the axis of education about anti-Semitism and education to address anti-Semitism	The teacher resources should support teacher reflexivity in relation to the sometimes tense relationship between their professional obligations to communicate and develop objective learning among their students, on the one hand, but to instil human rights values, on the other.
Differentiating between manifestations of anti-Semitism, while identifying potential linkages between them	The teacher resources should provide material that helps in both distinguishing and showing the potential connections between more casual, settled and fully developed anti-Semitic ways of thinking, speaking and acting.
Establishing and understanding the connections between the Holocaust and contemporary anti-Semitism	The teacher resources should include some guidance on how teachers can prepare young people to understand the continuity between verified historical forms of anti-Semitism and evidence of the nature and extent of modern anti-Semitism.
Understanding relationships and differences between the Holocaust and other forms of hatred, other genocides and other national traumas	The teacher resources need to equip teachers to be able to develop among their students a balanced and empathetic understanding of the elements of commonality and difference in both the content and the dynamics involved in anti-Semitism and other forms of injustice and hatred, and the Holocaust and other genocides or national suffering.
Uncovering and acknowledging hidden histories	The teacher resources should identify examples of where this has been done and how it can be managed in ways that disrupt the perpetuation of such hidden histories, while supporting students in the process of asking questions that can be disturbing in the context of family, community, social or national inheritance, but which are required for proper critical assessment.
Discussing issues related to the Israel-Palestine conflict	The teacher resources need to empower teachers to feel that they are ready to attempt to deal with the difficult issues arising from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which will also likely have an impact on how teaching about, and engaging with, anti-Semitism can be pedagogically addressed in classroom environments throughout the OSCE region.
Extending teacher knowledge and the use of existing curricula and associated teaching materials	The teacher resources should inform teachers about how to be better aware of, to access and to appropriately deploy existing curricula and related resources from multiple country contexts and languages into those aspects of their classroom environments within which they can bring direct pedagogical influence and interventions to bear in addressing anti-Semitism.
Supporting greater teacher professional/personal confidence, critical self-awareness and skills	The teacher resources should provide both tools and evaluative indicators by which teachers can recognize, review and address their own professional, cultural and personal awareness, competencies, biases and needs in relation to anti-Semitism and addressing it pedagogically.

In addition, the report outlines the potential scope for further work by ODIHR in this area, which could include the development of teacher resources, along with the eventual translation and adaptation of such resources for local contexts, as well as undertaking a multilingual review of relevant research evidence since the bibliographical research that informed the present report was largely limited to work published in English.

One final implication of the report is the consideration that governments should enable and facilitate that the voices of young people and students, teachers and educators feed into policies on education to address anti-Semitism, which might improve the likelihood of an effective connection between education policy and the issues of practice faced by teachers and students in classroom contexts.

1. Introduction

1.1 Context, aims and objectives of the wider project, this research and this report

1.1.1 This report focuses on identifying key challenges in both teaching about anti-Semitism and also addressing anti-Semitism as it manifests itself in classrooms in the OSCE region and on recommended educational responses for dealing with these challenges. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe's (OSCE)[1] Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)[2] is the principal institution of the OSCE responsible for the human dimension of security. ODIHR's activities are implemented in accordance with its mandate in 57 participating States.

1.1.2 In 2014, OSCE participating States met on the 10th anniversary of the OSCE's Berlin Conference on Anti-Semitism, in what has become known as the "Berlin + Ten Conference", to take stock of how their commitments to address anti-Semitism had been implemented. From this, the OSCE's 2014 Basel Ministerial Council Declaration No. 8 on Enhancing Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitism[3] called on participating States to promote educational programmes for combating anti-Semitism and to provide young people with opportunities for human rights education, including in relation to anti-Semitism. It also called on ODIHR to facilitate the exchange of good practice among participating States in relation to educational initiatives and other measures to raise awareness of anti-Semitism and to overcome challenges to Holocaust education.

1.1.3 Arising from this, ODIHR has been implementing, since 2016, the "Turning Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism"[4] project within its Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department. As part of this project, ODIHR has been providing support to OSCE participating States to implement OSCE commitments by providing government officials, parliamentarians and civil society groups with the knowledge and skills needed to effectively address anti-Semitism by focusing on three different components:

- Addressing the security needs of Jewish communities;
- Countering anti-Semitism through education; and
- Fostering civil society coalition-building.

1.1.4 This report is particularly concerned with the educational component of the project, within which anti-Semitism has been addressed by using a systematic and human rights-based approach aimed at developing a range of complementary resources. ODIHR has held consultations with experts on anti-Semitism to produce policy guidelines for addressing anti-Semitism,[5] engaged an implementing partner to produce teacher training curricula and guidance[6] and commissioned resources[7] to support teachers in classroom contexts when learning about and addressing the varied forms of anti-Semitism currently being manifested in OSCE participating States. Some of

[1] See the OSCE's website at <http://www.osce.org/>.
[2] See ODIHR's website at <http://www.osce.org/odihr/>.
[3] OSCE Ministerial Council, "Declaration on Enhancing Efforts to Combat Anti-Semitism", Basel, 5 December 2014, <http://www.osce.org/cio/130556?download=true>.
[4] See "Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism", OSCE website, <http://www.osce.org/project/words-into-action-to-address-anti-semitism>.
[5] "Addressing anti-Semitism through education the focus of OSCE/ODIHR workshop in Belgrade", ODIHR website, 18 November 2016, <http://www.osce.org/odihr/282626>.
[6] "Call for Expression of Interest - Curricula Development for Teacher Training", OSCE website, 7 August 2017, <http://www.osce.org/odihr/334321?download=true>.
[7] "CALL FOR APPLICATIONS: Research Project to Identify Key Classroom Challenges and Formulate Practical Recommendations for Educators to Address anti-Semitism", OSCE website, 10 May 2017, <http://www.osce.org/odihr/316341?download=true>.

these activities were conducted in partnership with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

1.1.5 In order to inform the development of such resources and to ensure that what is produced engages with the realities of diverse classroom settings, ODIHR commissioned primary research that involved students and young people, as well as teachers and other education professionals, held consultations with relevant experts and conducted bibliographical research, all of which informed the content of this report.

1.2 Research evidence base for this report

1.2.1 The research took place in two phases.[8] In Phase 1, from December 2016 to April 2017, primary research was conducted by a variety of commissioned research partners. The research utilized focus groups comprising students and other young people, group interviews, teacher/educator focus groups, group interviews and observations in the diverse settings of (French-speaking) **Belgium**, **Poland** and **Moldova**. Focus-group and interview participants in Moldova completed questionaires, supplemented by input from expert interviewees in **Belgium** and **Poland.** The commissioned research partners each produced a report for ODIHR that identified issues from their primary research, and provided bibliographical references and made recommendations for addressing anti-Semitism relevant to their contexts.

1.2.2 In Phase 2 of the research, ODIHR sought to complement the research results from those studies with further country-specific research so that the final body of research findings could reflect more of the diversity of contexts, types of anti-Semitism and educational responses to it found in the OSCE region. The aim was to produce a report that identifies key challenges in teaching about and addressing anti-Semitism in classroom contexts and to recommend educational responses to these challenges that resonate across the OSCE region. As proposed by the research partners for this phase, and agreed by ODIHR, this additional primary research took place in **Germany**, **Greece** and the **United States of America**.[9] In this phase, focus groups and interviews with students and young people, teachers and other education professionals were supplemented by questionnaires (mostly undertaken online) by these groups,[10] while expert interviews[11] also took place.

1.2.3 The primary research with students/young people and teachers in **Poland** (Wrocław and Garwolin) took place in December 2016; in **Moldova** (Balti, Comara and Chisinau) in March 2017; in **Belgium** (Brussels, La Louvière and Liège) in March 2017; in **Germany**, in Berlin in September and October 2017, and in Munich in October 2017; in **Greece** (Katerini and Thessaloniki) in September 2017; and in the **United States** (Portland, Oregon) in October 2017. The vast majority of Phase 2 expert interviews were conducted by Skype or similar programmes between July and October 2017, with a small number in the USA undertaken in May 2018. Supplementary evidence was gathered through questionnaires completed primarily online from September to mid-November 2017. As a whole, across all six countries, the research involved 138 teachers/educational professionals who took part in focus groups or interviews and 369 who took part in completing teacher questionnaires, 135 students/young people[12] who took part in focus groups or interviews and 68 who completed student questionnaires, while 53 experts were interviewed.

1.2.4 This new primary research was also informed by, and set within, the context of a wider and more systematic desk-based review of research published in English on the nature and extent of anti-Semitism, as well as of previous research into, and evaluations of, exemplar educational practices for addressing it. This was conducted between July 2017 and May 2018.

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[8] For further details of both Phases 1 and 2, see Appendix 2 (section 9) to this report.
[9] For the rationale applied in the selection of these additional countries, see Appendix 2 (section 9.3) to this report.
[10] For further details, see Appendix 2 (section 9.3) to this report.
[11] For a catalogue of these expert interviews, see Appendix 2 (section 9.4) to this report.
[12] The ages of the "students/young people" ranged between 14 and 22, with the majority aged 16-19.

Geographically, this review focused on the case-study countries of **Belgium**, **Germany**, **Greece**, **Moldova**, **Poland** and the **United States of America**, but it also took account of wider relevant key evidence relating especially to the OSCE region, as well as of other potentially relevant educational research and practice models for, and examples of, addressing anti-Semitism in classroom contexts drawn from still wider geographical areas.[13]

1.2.5 This report, therefore, brings together an overview of the key findings and recommendations from across Phases 1 and 2 of the research in ways that have also been informed by interaction with relevant expert and other consultative meetings held by ODIHR,[14] and in close communication with CEJI - A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe, the partners commissioned by ODIHR to develop the planned teacher resources.

1.2.6 Because the research in Phase 1 produced individual country reports on **Belgium**, **Moldova** and **Poland**, while including some key findings from those reports, this document gives more prominence to the primary research conducted in **Germany**, **Greece** and the **United States of America**, and in particular to the voices of the students, young people, teachers, educators and experts interviewed in those countries, supplemented by limited reference to data from the questionnaires that were completed.[15]

1.2.7 Overall, the research provides illustrative "snapshots" of the perspectives and experiences of a range of teachers, education professionals, students and young people from different parts of the OSCE region. This is supplemented by input from relevant experts and is contextualized in a review of wider relevant research evidence. The aim was neither to document findings in detail for each individual country in which primary research had been undertaken nor, generally speaking, to identify how significant issues are in one country as compared with another. Rather, it was to try to collect a sufficient overall pattern of evidence to credibly identify a range of key challenges with at least some relevance for teaching about and addressing anti-Semitism in classroom contexts across the OSCE region as a whole, and through that to provide the basis for recommendations that could inform the development of teacher resources to meet those challenges.

[13] For further details about the bibliography, see Appendix 2 (section 9.5) and Appendix 3 to this report.
[14] For further details, see Appendix 2 (section 9.6) to this report.
[15] Because of this, those parts of this report that refer to Germany, Greece and the United States include a greater degree of direct quotations from research participants and respondents, while whose that refer to Belgium, Moldova and Poland include more references to summarized evidence, reflecting also in general the balance in the contents of the latter research reports, especially those relating to Belgium and Moldova.

2. The Nature and Extent of Anti-Semitism in the OSCE Region

2.1 Descriptions and definitions of anti-Semitism

2.1.1 Debate over definitions can sometimes result in losing sight of the need to engage with broadly recognizable social realities. At the same time, how one more precisely understands a phenomenon has a clear relationship with how one goes about addressing it. Thus, for example, if anti-Semitism is approached primarily through a lens that focuses on psychological factors (Bergmann, ed., 1998; Kressel and Kressel, 2016), then it is likely that psychological means will be seen as the most appropriate for engaging with it. Similarly, where economics has been seen as playing a primary role, then economic and political measures are likely to be more highly evaluated.

2.1.2 However, it is arguably neither necessary nor appropriate to the facts to adopt totalizing theories of anti-Semitism. Rather, anti-Semitism might more accurately be seen as a complex phenomenon with a number of facets (Fein, 1987a; Baum, 2012). It has been described in a number of ways (Langmuir, 1987; Fein, 1987a; and Cockburn and St. Clair, 2003). As suggested by Staetsky (2017: 12) and the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, what has been called the "elastic view" of anti-Semitism is a concept developed to account for the difference in the numbers of identifiable anti-Semites and the prevalence of anti-Semitism, and as between Jewish and broader perceptions of the contemporary salience of anti-Semitism.

2.1.3 Nevertheless, both historically and today, anti-Semitism has usually included the concept of stereotypes (Wuthnow, 1987) and/or of hostility or hatred towards Jews as the classic "Other" (Felix Posen Project on Antisemitism, 1995). In modern history, this was first expressed in terms of a political programme by the Antisemiten-Liga (League of Anti-Semites) founded in 1879 by the German Wilhelm Marr, who was hostile to Jews on the secular grounds that they were an alien "race". At the same time, a lot of the themes and images that were thus invoked strongly echoed expressions that go back over centuries to pre-modern times (Katz, 1987; Almog, 1988; Levy, ed., 2005; and Foxman, 2007). Many of them can be linked with what might, within historic Christendom, be identified in terms of "anti-Judaism" (Reuther, 1987; Quinley and Glock, 1987; Spicer, ed., 2007; and Davis, 2003). All of this can still be found today among those hostile to Jewish people whether on racial, ethnic, religious or political grounds (Laquer, 2006).

2.1.4 While not universally accepted, there is a working definition in widespread use today, including in the 31 countries of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA),[16] that was originally adopted in 2005 as the working definition of the former European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC). This defines anti-Semitism as follows: "Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

2.1.5 While anti-Semitic tropes are widely recognizable in relation to what might be called the more "traditional" expressions of anti-Semitism that have often been associated with the political right, there is less consensus and more controversy around what has been identified by some as "the new anti-Semitism" (Chesler, 2003; Rosenfeld, 2013, 2015). For many who have proposed the importance of recognizing this, underlying it has usually been a strong and permeating sense of clear and present danger to Jews across the world. Central to this has often been a tendency to

[16] See the IHRA's website at <http://holocaustremembrance.com>.

identify a strong alignment or even practical equivalence between contemporary anti-Semitism and an anti-Zionism focused on Israel as a Jewish state (Fein, 1987c; Wistrich, ed., 1990), and this is often associated with the political left (Hirsch, 2018). At the same time, whatever theoretical positions are taken on this, it is clear that a range of expressions of anti-Zionism, in both words and actions, have been, and continue to be, informed by anti-Semitic tropes (Cohen, 1984; Curtis, 2013).

2.1.6 Also at stake has been the relationship between anti-Semitism and other forms of stereotyping, hatred and/or discrimination (Fein, 1987b; Wistrich, ed., 1999; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Fineberg, Samuels and Weitzman, eds., 2007; Samuels and Weitzmann, eds., 2008) in relation to the commonalities and distinctiveness involved. This, in turn, is linked to debates about the degree to which addressing anti-Semitism, especially in educational contexts, requires specific approaches and/or can be understood and engaged with from within a broad human rights approach.

2.2 Anti-Semitism: inheritances and responses

2.2.1 Across the OSCE region, anti-Semitism has been a historically prominent and destructive fact of life (Epstein, 1993). The shadow of the systematic attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe in the Holocaust and the anti-Semitism that made it possible hangs over European history and culture, while its historical roots go deep, as also noted above. At the same time, there have also been varyingly effective attempts on the part of supranational organizations (Elman, 2014), states, education systems, political parties, religious groups and civil society organizations to grapple with understanding the roots of anti-Semitism and how to overcome it. In relation to the countries where this project's research is focused, this can broadly and briefly be stated as follows:

2.2.2 In **Belgium**, coming to terms with domestic anti-Semitism (Ben-Rafael, 2014) was, as in parts of Central and Eastern Europe, partly delayed by Belgium's history as an occupied country during World War II and, as part of that, a wider sense of victimhood stemming from the horrors perpetrated in and around the World War II period. Thus, for example, Belgium's shared responsibility for the persecution of Jews during that period was only officially acknowledged by a Senate resolution as late as 2013 (Van Doorslaer, Debruyne, Seberechts and Wouters, 2007).

2.2.3 **Germany** has long been involved in wrestling with the implications for both its public life in general (Unhabhängiger Expertenkreis Antisemitismus, 2017) and its education system in particular of the fact that Nazi Germany planned and executed the Holocaust. At the same time, new challenges have arisen in the context of the country's changing population: in the first instance in connection with German reunification (Kurthen, Bergman and Erb, eds., 1997) following the end of the German Democratic Republic as a separate German state, and then linked with further ethnic and religious diversification (Amira, 2008; Wetzel, 2014). Because of this specific historical context and the need to adapt to changing circumstances, special attention is paid in this report to the contributions and reflections of German students/young people, and to some extent of teachers/educators and experts.

2.2.4 In **Greece**, independence from the Ottoman Empire changed the fundamental terms of the historical relationship between different communities constituted on religious and political grounds to create, through a Hellenization process, a new Greek state. Jewish Greeks participated in this, but the Nazi occupation led to the deportation of large numbers of Greece's Jewish population (Sephardic Jewish Council of Forest Hills et al., 1995), having a particularly visible impact on what until then had been the vibrant Jewish population of Thessaloniki (Hagouel, 2006). While domestic anti-Semitism did not historically feature as strongly as in some other countries in South-western Europe, there is evidence of a considerable prevalence of anti-Semitic sentiment (Antoniou, Kosmidis, Dinas, and Saltiel, 2017), while in the context of the country's recent history and economic crisis, strands of Greek political life that are openly racist and anti-Semitic, such as in the profile and activities of the Golden Dawn movement,

have become visible (Droumpouki, 2013; European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014; and Antoniou, Kosmidis, Dinas and Saltiel, 2017).

2.2.5 A historical ambiguity can be found in both **Moldova** and **Poland**, albeit in different ways, as also in a number of other countries that were previously within the political, economic and military sphere of the former Soviet Union. It has not always been straightforward to come to terms with the relationship between the various Soviet stances on anti-Semitism and at least some of the expressions of anti-Soviet or anti-communist nationalism in which anti-Semitic currents have not been far below the surface, including in Moldova (Volovici, 1994) and in Poland (Blobaum, 2005; Guesnet and Jones, 2014; and Michlic and Melchior, 2013).

2.2.6 In the **United States of America**, because of its historic role both as a refuge for many Jewish emigrants fleeing from European anti-Semitism at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, and due to the role of its military forces in the Allied defeat of Nazi Germany, the country and its people have sometimes found it easier to identify anti-Semitism when looking at Europe than to acknowledge its presence and the need to address it also at home (Dinnerstein, 1994).

2.3 Measuring contemporary anti-Semitism: data from states and agencies

2.3.1 Despite the horrors of the Holocaust, anti-Semitism in the OSCE region has never disappeared. It has been seen prominently in recent times – at least in terms of the public eye – in the context of terrorist violence that has included the specific targeting of Jewish people and institutions. In 2015, Jewish people were targets of deadly attacks in Denmark and France, following on from those that took place in Toulouse in 2012 and Brussels in 2014.

2.3.2 At the same time, such terror attacks are only the most visible part of the overall picture, and there is also the phenomenon of hate crime more broadly. In relation to this, the OSCE participating States have adopted a definition of hate crimes[17] that excludes the related but distinct categories of “hate speech” or “discrimination”.

2.3.3 To be considered a hate crime according to the OSCE definition, an offence must meet two criteria: first, an act must constitute an offence under criminal law; second, it must have been motivated by bias. Table 1 sets out official country and civil society reporting of hate crime for 2016, as recorded in ODIHR’s hate crime database,[18] relative to the population of each country in the United Nations *World Statistics Pocketbook* data for 2016.[19]

Table 1.

Country	Population	Official Reporting		Reported by Civil Society Organizations					
	In millions	Hate crimes recorded by police	Recorded as anti-Semitic bias motive	Violent attacks on people		Threats to people		Violent attacks on property	
				Overall	Anti-Semitic motive	Overall	Anti-Semitic motive	Overall	Anti-Semitic motive
Belgium	11.737	Not given	Not given	9	4	7	5	13	5
Germany	80.682	3,598	185	1,321	37	298	39	391	60
Greece	10.920	40	2	57	0	56	0	34	9
Moldova	4.063	0	0	12	0	5	0	10	10
Poland	38.593	874	103	48	0	13	0	35	3
United States	324.119	7,321	381	107	46	11	7	623	554

[17] See “What is hate crime”, ODIHR Hate Crime Reporting website, <http://hatecrime.osce.org/what-hate-crime>.
[18] See “ODIHR Publishes 2016 Hate Crime Data”, ODIHR Hate Crime Reporting website, <http://hatecrime.osce.org/>.
[19] *World Statistics Pocketbook* (New York: United Nations, 2016),<https://unstats.un.org/unsd/publications/pocketbook/files/world-stats-pocketbook-2016.pdf>.

2.3.4 While this and other similar data offer a relevant picture, it is important not to misinterpret such data, especially in terms of making comparisons between countries. This is because in-country reporting systems have been developed to varying degrees in terms of their sophistication and comprehensiveness. And this is even more the case in relation to data about broader and less visibly extreme or criminal, but nevertheless socially significant, manifestations of anti-Semitism.

2.3.5 In relation to data on such acts, the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union made clear in its report on anti-Semitism in 2015 that: "The current state of official data collection is such that the present report can provide only an overview of the data available on antisemitism in EU Member States. Due to gaps in data collection and high levels of underreporting, the data presented here cannot be taken as an accurate portrayal of the prevalence of antisemitism in any given EU Member State, nor should these data be used to compare the situation in different countries" (European Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017: 6).

2.3.6 Nevertheless, as long as there is awareness of these limitations, data of this kind can help in understanding the overall environment for, and forms of, anti-Semitism as more generally found in the countries where this report's primary research was conducted. The following should be noted in relation to those countries that are European Union member states (taken from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights' (2017) overview of data available in the European Union between 2006 and 2016).

2.3.7 For **Belgium** (see European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017: 22-25), the national equality body, Unia, recorded 109 cases in 2016 related to anti-Semitism compared with 53 in 2015 (much of the increase being attributed by Unia to a rise in its profile following a media campaign).[20] From civil society organizations, the website antisemitism.be reported 64 incidents in 2016 (compared to 70 in 2015).[21]

2.3.8 For **Germany**, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights' (2017: 39-42) report noted that the Kriminalpolizeilicher Meldedienst – Politisch motivierte Kriminalität (Criminal Police Notification Service – Politically Motivated Crimes) had reported 1,468 politically motivated crimes with an anti-Semitic motive (compared with 1,366 in 2015).[22] Among civil society organizations in Germany, the Amadeu Antonio Foundation has been collecting data on anti-Semitic incidents from the German press and from initiatives concerned with anti-Semitism since 2002. For 2016, it recorded 174 anti-Semitic incidents (compared with 103 in 2015). The University of Leipzig has, since 2002, conducted an annual representative study on anti-Semitic feelings and attitudes among the general population in Germany. The results of the survey for 2016 showed that 11 per cent of respondents believed that the influence of Jewish people was too great and that about 10 per cent of the respondents believed that "Jews simply have something special and peculiar about themselves and do not really fit in our society". At the same time, the findings showed a decreasing trend in anti-Semitic attitudes among the general population, from 9.3 per cent in 2002 to 4.8 per cent in 2016 (Decker, Kiess and Brähler, 2016: 43).

2.3.9 For **Greece**, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017: 43) reported that three anti-Semitic incidents were recorded in 2016 by the Hellenic Police and were referred to the Ministry of Justice (as compared with one in 2015). It was also noted that the Racist Violence Recording Network, which consists of 40 civil society organizations involved in monitoring and recording hate crime in Greece, had recorded five anti-Semitic incidents in 2016 (compared

[20] Of these cases, the most common related to the Internet (51), followed by Holocaust denial (22), verbal aggression and threats (12), letters and articles (nine), "others" (eight), violence (four), vandalism (three) and media (zero), while in the same year, the Federal Police reported three cases of approving of or justifying the Holocaust, one case of denying or trivializing the Holocaust and one other unspecified case relating to the Holocaust.

[21] Including "ideological" incidents often related to the state of Israel (25), those relating to the Internet (23), violence (seven), desecration/property damage (seven) and threats (two).

[22] Some 1,381 of these crimes were defined as "right-wing", two were "left-wing", 48 were informed by a "foreign ideology" and 37 were "other". Of these 37, 34 were politically motivated acts of violence with anti-Semitic motives, 32 of which were "right-wing", one reflected a "foreign ideology" and one was "other".

with four in 2015), which involved desecration of Jewish property and symbolic places and anti-Semitic graffiti.

2.3.10 For **Poland**, the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2017: 57-58) noted that there had been a change in the reporting methodology in 2015 and also that, from November 2016, responsibility for collecting relevant data that had originally been collated by the Human Rights Protection Team (Zespół do Spraw Ochrony Praw Człowieka) of the Ministry of the Interior and Administration had been transferred to the Unit for the European Migration Network and Combating Human Trafficking of the Department for Migration Analyses and Policy. In 2016, 101 anti-Semitic incidents were recorded (compared with 167 in 2015).[23] Finally, the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage in Poland provides annual information on the anti-Semitic incidents that it reports to the prosecution service, police or other authorities. Data for 2016 was not available, but three incidents were reported in 2015.

2.3.11 Regarding Moldova, in addition to the fact that no hate crimes were recorded as having an anti-Semitic motive, it was also not possible to obtain any official Moldovan data on anti-Semitism more broadly. However, a Euro-Asian Jewish Congress (2013) report called "Anti-Semitism in Moldova (2009 - 2012)"[24] catalogued seven incidents in 2009, nine in 2010, one in 2012 and three in 2013. More recent data is included in the report submitted to ODIHR on **Moldova** (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 1). That report, in addition to referring to numerous instances in Chisinau, also cited local media sources that highlighted the following examples of anti-Semitic activity in and around the areas where the Moldovan primary research was conducted: "In the north of Moldova, a break-in took place at the synagogue in Orhei on 23 February 2016. Unidentified individuals broke in the back door, destroyed Torah scrolls and also tore out the light fixtures attached to the walls", and "[i]n the south of the country, teenagers vandalized 50 tombstones at the Jewish cemetery in Ceadir-Lunga in May 2016".

2.3.12 In relation to the **United States of America**, beyond the 361 hate crimes reported by police that were recorded as having an anti-Semitic bias motive and that were officially reported to ODIHR, it was not possible to obtain any official US data on anti-Semitism more broadly. However, the Anti-Defamation League's 2016 audit of anti-Semitic incidents in the United States[25] recorded 1,266 such incidents across the United States, which was a 34 per cent increase from the 942 incidents reported in 2015.[26] Reported incidents on college campuses increased from 90 in 2015 to 108 in 2016, while incidents reported at non-Jewish elementary, middle and high schools increased from 114 in 2015 to 235 in 2016.[27]

2.4 The reported experience of Jewish people

2.4.1 Recalling the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights' warning about the limitations of official data produced by states concerning incidents of anti-Semitism as reported to their official agencies, and recognizing that data produced by civil society organizations can only reflect what is reported to them, for a more complete picture it is important to take into account the results of research on anti-Semitism undertaken directly with Jewish people (Weinberg, 2015).

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[23] These included 89 incidents involving hate speech, graffiti and inscriptions (53 of which were on the Internet, with six involving insults and unlawful threats directly against a person of Jewish origin, three involving property damage, one physical attack and one interruption of a religious act).
[24] See "Anti-Semitism in Moldova (2009 – 2012)", Euro-Asian Jewish Congress website, <http://eajc.org/page34/news38909.html>.
[25] *ADL Audit: U.S. Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged in 2016-2017* (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 2017), <https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/Anti-Semitic%20Audit%20Print_vf2.pdf>.
[26] These included 36 anti-Semitic assaults (down from 56 in 2015); 720 cases of anti-Semitic harassment, threats and events (up from 509 in 2015); and 510 cases of anti-Semitic vandalism (up from 377 in 2015).
[27] See *ADL Audit: U.S. Anti-Semitic Incidents Surged in 2016-2017*, *op. cit.*, note 27.

2.4.2 Of course, data about Jewish perceptions of anti-Semitism can also be subject to important limitations since the perception of something among research subjects does not necessarily correspond to the kind of evidence needed to determine, in proceedings of either criminal or civil law, that it actually occurred. Equally, however, the personal or social reality of a phenomenon can exist even where it might not be provable in a legal context. In this regard, it is important to take account of the first-ever European Union survey of Jewish people in relation to their reported experience of anti-Semitism. The report (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013 on this research, titled *Discrimination and Hate Crime against Jews in EU Member States: Experiences and Perceptions of Antisemitism*, was based on the results of online research carried out in 2013, including responses from 5,847 Jewish people in the eight European Union Member states (**Belgium**, France, **Germany**, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Sweden and the United Kingdom) that are home to over 90 per cent of the EU's estimated Jewish population.[28]

2.4.3 For the eight countries overall, and in relation specifically to the European Union member states focused on in this report (**Belgium** and **Germany**), the results (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013: 16) highlighted, among other things, that 66 per cent of respondents[29] (77 per cent in **Belgium** and 61 per cent in **Germany**) saw anti-Semitism as a "very big" or "fairly big" problem, while 76 per cent (FRA 2014: 17) believed that anti-Semitism had increased in the country where they were living (88 per cent in **Belgium** and 68 per cent in **Germany**) over the preceding five years.[30]

2.4.4 In relation to their personal experience, 21 per cent (28 per cent in **Belgium** and 16 per cent in **Germany**) reported verbal insults, harassment and/or physical attacks for being Jewish in the preceding 12 months, while 27 per cent (35 per cent in **Belgium** and 24 per cent in **Germany**) reported having seen other Jewish people being subjected to such treatment (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013: 30).[31]

2.4.5 In relation to the reporting of anti-Semitic acts by those who personally experienced what they perceived as such acts, 76 per cent (73 per cent in **Belgium** and 71 per cent in **Germany**) of those experiencing harassment in the preceding five years did not report the most serious incident (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014: 50) to an authority or organization, while 82 per cent (78 per cent in **Belgium** and 82 per cent in **Germany**) did not report the most serious incident of anti-Semitic discrimination experienced in the preceding 12 months (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013: 57).

2.5 Other relevant social research data

2.5.1 In relation to anti-Semitic attitudes, including those that may have not been directly experienced by Jewish people or were reflected in either criminal or civil law cases, research such as that conducted within the well-established and respected European Values Study (EVS, 2016) is pertinent and instructive. As part of the fourth wave of EVS research, conducted in 2008, respondents were shown cards featuring 15 different groups of people and were asked to identify any groups that they would not like to have as neighbours. On average across 47

[28] Romania was also included, but was reported on separately due to the relatively small number of respondents.
[29] In all EU member states surveyed.
[30] Also, 75 per cent of respondents (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014: 19) identified the Internet (85 per cent in Belgium and 67 per cent in Germany) as a problem, 59 per cent identified the media (70 per cent in Belgium and 40 per cent in Germany), 54 per cent identified hostility in public places (74 per cent in Belgium and 48 per cent in Germany), 50 per cent identified desecration of Jewish cemeteries (42 per cent in Belgium and 46 per cent in Germany), 45 per cent identified anti-Semitic graffiti (52 per cent in Belgium and 30 per cent in Germany), 45 per cent identified vandalism of Jewish buildings (54 per cent in Belgium and 33 per cent in Germany) and 44 per cent identified anti-Semitism in political life (51 per cent in Belgium and 30 per cent in Germany).
[31] Some 68 per cent of respondents (90 per cent in Belgium and 56 per cent in Germany) agreed that the "Israeli-Arab conflict" (wording developed in consultation between the FRA and the academic team it contracted to undertake the survey) impacted upon their sense of safety (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2014: 38), while 29 per cent (40 per cent in Belgium and 25 per cent in Germany) had considered emigrating because they did not feel safe.

countries in Europe as a whole, some 16.6 per cent of valid responses indicated Jews (in 32 countries in 1999, this figure was 12.6 per cent).

2.5.2 Across OSCE participating States in Europe, responses in 2008 ranged from a high in Turkey of 68.9 per cent of valid responses (61.9 per cent in 1999) to a low of 2.1 per cent in Denmark (2.5 per cent in 1999). Of the countries focused on in this report, 3.9 per cent of valid responses in **Belgium** in 2008 (11.1 per cent in 1999) chose Jews as people they would not like to have as neighbours; in **Germany**, it was 6.1 per cent of valid responses (6.8 per cent in 1999); in Greece, 12.2 per cent of valid responses (18.7 per cent in 1999); in **Moldova**, 22.2 per cent of valid responses (Moldova was not included in the survey in 1999); and in **Poland** it was 17.9 per cent of valid responses (25.8 per cent in 1999).

2.5.3 Viewed through the lens of the Anti-Defamation League's Global 100 survey[32] on attitudes, for the countries focused on in this report, and as weighted to the adult population, the 2015 updated results (which, at the time of writing, were the most recent available), showed 21 per cent of respondents in **Belgium** (27 per cent in 2014) affirming as "probably true" a majority of the anti-Semitic stereotypes tested by the ADL survey; 16 per cent in **Germany** (27 per cent in 2014); 67 per cent of respondents in **Greece** (69 per cent in 2014); 37 per cent in **Poland** (47 per cent in 2014); 10 per cent (9 per cent in 2014) in the **United States of America**; while in Moldova, the updated data for 2015 is not yet available, but 30 per cent of respondents did so in 2014.

2.6 Conclusion

2.6.1 Overall, the trend points in different directions in different countries, with decreases in reported anti-Semitic crime, other activities and attitudes in some countries, and increases in others. What is clear is that, while its incidence, frequency and forms may vary over time, anti-Semitism remains a reality among OSCE participating States.

[32] See the ADL Global 100 website, <http://global100.adl.org/#map/weurope>.

3. Anti-Semitism among Young People and in Schools in Particular

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 Young people and schools do not, of course, exist apart from the societies in which they are located, and therefore wider social research and data on anti-Semitism is pertinent to what might be expected to be found among young people in general and in schools in particular. Thus, the data provided in the previous section of this report forms part of the broader social context for young people and anti-Semitism in the OSCE region. At the same time, both across the OSCE region as a whole and in relation to individual countries within it (including those countries focused on in this report), there is relatively little published research on anti-Semitism among young people as such, and even less that is specifically focused on teaching about anti-Semitism and/or addressing its manifestations in classroom contexts.

3.1.2 The relative paucity of such existing research contrasts with the situation in relation to Holocaust education (see Eckmann, Stevick and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, eds., 2017) which can, of course, significantly overlap with, and also contribute to, education about anti-Semitism as well as to engaging with manifestations of anti-Semitism in the classroom. But Holocaust education is also distinct, both because the phenomenon of anti-Semitism goes beyond the Holocaust and also because contemporary Holocaust education often makes connections beyond the Holocaust of the Jewish people in Nazi-dominated Europe.

3.1.3 Therefore, the primary research that informs this report can make a distinctive contribution to understanding anti-Semitism as it currently exists in a number of OSCE countries, albeit subject to the methodologically related limitations noted in the appendices to this report.

3.2 Perspectives from young people/students and teachers/educators

3.2.1 In relation to **Belgium**, as noted in the Belgian country report, anti-Semitism in Belgian schools has "made headlines" when it "appeared that Jewish students were deserting public schools, either following explicitly antisemitic statements or acts, or following statements or acts disguised as stereotypes" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:27). At the same time, the annual report from Antisemitisme.be includes information on incidents in schools, with the most recent report (Antisemitisme.be, 2015) noting only two cases of harassment and one of ideological anti-Semitism. However, the overall project's research report for Belgium noted that "While the number of antisemitic incidents registered in schools might seem low, the general feeling of insecurity among Jews and Jewish communities is nonetheless highly impacted."

3.2.2 Some recent research on Flemish-speaking youth (Vettenburg, Elchardus and Put, 2011) included consideration of anti-Semitism. According to this research, 30 per cent of respondents agreed with most of the anti-Semitic prejudice addressed in the questionnaires, while 25-30 per cent agreed more or less. The study also found a higher percentage of anti-Semitism among practising Catholics and even higher among Muslim youth, among whom the stereotype of Jews as dominant/warmongering was widespread. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the research highlighted that what can be called "theological anti-Semitism" (as rooted in a historical anti-Judaism) has a higher incidence among believers than non-believers.

3.2.3 In the project's primary research conducted in French-speaking contexts in Belgium**,** it was noted that: "Among student focus groups, most students had heard of the attack in the Jewish Museum. Fewer were aware of the attack against the Hypercacher in Paris and even fewer

recalled the Toulouse attack. In general, the memory, impact and perception of these attacks[33] seemed to vary considerably between Jews and non-Jews" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:26). The report also noted that: "A feeling of disproportionate treatment of antisemitism compared to other forms of discrimination … prevailed. This was often linked to the importance given in schools to the teaching of the Shoah compared to other chapters of Belgian and European history, and to perceptions that Jews were more part of Belgian collective memory and Belgian society than other minorities" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:24).

3.2.4 In the research, students with some previous literacy in relation to Jews and anti-Semitism were the most open in terms of being curious. But among those who saw it as irrelevant, anti-Semitism was not perceived as contemporary. Recent attacks were generally forgotten or considered exceptional. Most students (and teachers) referred to the Holocaust, but also to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

3.2.5 Responses noted many classroom/schoolyard incidents concerning the public figure Dieudonné.[34] Among students themselves, old forms of anti-Semitism were expressed with hesitation or humour, while newer forms were expressed in more assertive ways. Students (and teachers) were reported as generally being aware of stereotypes involving physical features and wealth, while Catholic religion teachers and students were most familiar with the stereotypes of Jews as responsible for "deicide", along with notions of Jewish superiority, of remaining apart, of being "the chosen people" and of conspiracy theories in which Jews are seen as controlling all or key parts of society, together with perceptions that Jews are more protected by the law than other minorities.

3.2.6 In the research on Belgium, the specific challenge involved in addressing anti-Semitism among Muslim youth was raised consistently. Examples included forms of cultural anti-Semitism found in a number of insults in Arabic, hostility linked to religious disagreements, historical tensions related to "dhimmi"[35] conditions under which Jews lived in parts of the Arab-Muslim world and/or complex relations with colonial powers and the two communities.

3.2.7 Overall, the research identified a general lack of understanding about the diversity of Jewish identities, with confusion over the religious, cultural and ethnic dimensions of this, and especially with regard to secular Jewish identity. Students (and teachers) of Muslim origin were generally more open to religious facts when learning about Jewish practices, while students and teachers with little knowledge of religion were more sceptical. Very few students (or teachers) who took part in focus groups knew Jews personally, while their estimates of the numbers of Jews in Belgium were often greatly exaggerated.

3.2.8 In **Germany**, when the 16 young people (two of whom identified as Jewish) who completed the project's questionnaire were asked whether they were personally aware of reported acts of violence, verbal or physical harassment, threats, vandalism, discrimination, exclusion, etc. perpetrated at their schools in relation to someone because they were Jewish, eight (including the two respondents who identified as Jewish) said "yes", while eight stated that they were not aware of such incidents. When teachers were asked the same question, five out of the 18 teacher respondents answered "yes" (including only one of the five Jewish respondents).

3.2.9 A young female interviewee felt that anti-Semitism was less prominent than in the past, commenting that, within her group of friends, "nobody cares whether or not you are Jewish". Agreeing with their female peer, two young male interviewees in Munich added that they felt that anti-Semitic incidents were rare, while another male interviewee stated that: "other minority groups are easier to attack without [encountering a negative reaction from] the majority … as it

[33] The first of these attacks was on 24 May 2014, the second on 9 January 2015 and the third on 19 March 2012.
[34] Dieudonné (Dieudonné M'bala M'bala is his full name) is a French personality, actor and political activist. He has been convicted in courts in Belgium in relation to anti-Semitic speech and in France in relation to incitement to racial hatred.
[35] "Dhimmi" is a historical term that refers to the social and legal position of non-Muslim citizens within a state ruled by Muslims, and literally means "protected person", although along with rights, such "dhimmis" also had the obligation to pay a special tax and also lived with a range of restrictions and social attitudes.

has not become stigmatized in the same way", adding that even the focus of neo-Nazis had shifted from Jews to rallying "against foreigners or migrants".

3.2.10 Although also stating that anti-Semitism was somewhat rare, a young male and female interviewee in Munich argued that families could partly be blamed for using inappropriate and racist language at home, along with the media. In addition, a young male interviewee in Munich stressed that political parties such as the nationalist Alternative for Germany party come out with anti-Semitic and racist comments that generally go unchallenged. He added that, ultimately, "[s]ome people [are] influenced by this".

3.2.11 Five young interviewees in Munich argued that anti-Semitism was not only expressed by native Germans but that, as one of the female interviewees put it, there were "also quite a lot of foreigners within Germany who [have] problems with Jews". A young male interviewee in Berlin recalled that he and his Jewish friend decided that his friend should not wear his Star of David when they went out together in a neighbourhood "dominated by people of Arab origin". This is linked with the fact that when questioned about whether anti-Semitism was widespread in Berlin, one of the young male Jewish interviewees referred to a "narrative" there that claims that "imported anti-Semitism" was mainly started by young Muslim refugees.

3.2.12 In relation to this, the same interviewee added, "because [the young Muslim refugees] do not have an already-formed anti-Semitic world view, they can be educated". The interviewee contrasted this with the instance of a "White German man, middle-aged, or woman … who cannot hear about the Holocaust because [they] think it [was] 70 years ago and it doesn't concern [them], and [that] the Jews control the media anyway". The interviewee added that, "you cannot reason with this person" and advocated the crucial importance of educating young refugees and indigenous Germans alike.

3.2.13 The same young interviewee went on to claim that, although he believed that anti-Semitic assaults were rare in Berlin, he thought that the Internet harboured a lot of inflammatory anti-Semitic comments, articles and conspiracy theories on, for example, the Holocaust or on Israel, and that this could go unnoticed. Distressed by one of the articles, the young person concerned recalled that he had filed an official complaint with Facebook. Half a year later, he received a response informing him that one of the anti-Semitic perpetrators had been identified and that the police had deemed him mentally ill.

3.2.14 Finally, another young male interviewee, who identified himself as Jewish, explained that while he generally felt safe in Germany, he remained very cautious about, for example, being seen wearing a kippah on the street or being open about being Jewish. He also recalled a time when he was sent to a public school and where, during his first probation week, he was attacked and outed as a Jew. The school did not extend his stay because, in his words, "they could not guarantee my security". He explained that he ended up attending a private Jewish school instead, like other Jewish students he was aware of who had also experienced anti-Semitic attacks in German public schools.[36]

3.2.15 One of the male interviewees in Munich claimed that he had heard from his sister and from other "reliable sources" that some students played a game called "Tag the Jew". He also recalled another incident involving graffiti on the wall of the school entrance with drawings of a young man with a Hitler moustache making a Hitler salute alongside a speech bubble with the words "If your finger is up, you'll be praised, but if you hold up your hand, you rule the country!" The student recalled that while some students were offended by this, others found it funny, and it took more than a week for the drawing to be removed.

3.2.16 Another young female interviewee from Munich recounted her Jewish female friend's experience with anti-Semitism: "she had problems every so often. [She] had to listen to stupid comments." She had an argument with someone from a different group in seventh grade who made comments directed towards Jews like "gassifying [*sic*] is acceptable" and similar extreme

[36] This case is distinct from another case that was previously reported in the German and international media (Bleicke, 2017).

things. “But this was dealt with by our school immediately.” She also remembered the day a 10th-grade boy acted disrespectfully towards a Holocaust survivor who was visiting their school: “For some reason, he had a problem with Jews”, and “he was constantly [being] loud and disruptive. And when he was questioned about it, [he] just said he [was having] a bad day, and that was it.”

3.2.17 In **Greece**,17 students/young people (two of whom were Jewish) completed the project questionnaire. When asked if they were personally aware of reported acts of violence, verbal or physical harassment, threats, vandalism, discrimination, exclusion, etc. in their school context, in relation to someone they knew, because the victim was Jewish, 10 (including both of the Jewish respondents) of them answered “yes”. Six out of 23 teachers (including one of the two Jewish teachers) asked the same question answered “yes”.

3.2.18 In the focus groups, the Greek young people and teachers stated that they believed that anti-Semitism did not exist in Thessaloniki or Katerini. They affirmed, rather, that there was tolerance in relation to Jews, which one male teacher thought was associated with the history of Jews in Greece during World War II. However, what one teacher called “tolerance” was described in the following way: “In Thessaloniki, there is this omerta,[37] or silence regarding tolerance among the citizens of this city for the fact that the Nazis actually killed the Jews of this city. Very recently, there has been recognition of this fact … a monument [was built], and at schools, some teachers mention it; there is also educational material on this issue. But we all know that there are these people in Thessaloniki who made money and property [from] the property of the Jews. The university campus was built on Jewish graves. This [weighs heavily] on the conscience of the people of Thessaloniki, and they hide it.”

3.2.19 The young people and teachers interviewed in Greece claimed that they did not themselves have any animosity towards Jews. However, they also reported that they were aware of people who did have strong anti-Semitic views, as well as of Jews who felt that they needed to hide their Jewish identity. For example, one young male reported, “I have a friend whose father is not a bad person, he believes very [much] in democracy, but when it comes to Jews he says that something is not good with them, something is not right.”

3.2.20 A young female interviewee from Thessaloniki described her Jewish friend’s fear of being found out by her peers in the following way: “I had a friend, a very close friend who is Jewish, but her mother didn’t want [her] to tell [anyone this] at school because she was afraid that she might [face racist] incidents. But her parents were afraid. She did the religion course as a Christian, although she could [have avoided] it, but she did [it] because she was afraid [that] other kids [would say] something.”

3.2.21 A small group of young people from Katerini and a larger group of teachers from Katerini and Thessaloniki suggested that it was not unusual for Greeks who were not Jews to describe non-Orthodox Christian Greek behaviour as “Jewish”. This general sense of Jews not belonging was expressed by one young male, who said: “I had a friend who avoided religion lessons because he was an atheist. I respect that, but some other children … said things for fun [such as], ‘Why don’t you come? Are you a Jew or something?’ Many children have these stereotypes.” One young male commented that one of his friends believed that “the Jews are involved with the Illuminati”. And as a female teacher from Thessaloniki added in relation to her direct experience of anti-Semitism in a classroom context: “Only once [did I have] an incident in class” and that this was “among boys who created a conspiracy theory about Jews being behind everything in this world and controlling everything”.

3.2.22 Commenting on the roots of anti-Semitism, one male and one female teacher felt the Greek Orthodox Church had a major responsibility, the male teacher stating (and the female signalling active agreement) that: “This has been shaped during our history, it is not so much rooted in Greece, the Church is the main vector, let’s say, of anti-Semitism in Greece. For instance, it is not by chance that in my village, Horisti, they burn [an effigy] of Judas. It is a

[37] The word “omerta” is used to describe how people remain silent in the context of activities involving the mafia.

common anti-Semitic practice, it is part of our tradition but it still remains … Most of our opinions against Jews come from the Church ... Regarding the opinion that Jews are behind every conspiracy, we always attribute to the Jews things that have to do with their origins. There is the conspiracy of blood, that the Jews killed Jesus Christ."

3.2.23 A female teacher from Thessaloniki explained that "modern" "racially" and "politically" constructed forms of anti-Semitism were inherited from more "theological" forms. She added that things changed from the 1990s onwards, whereby: "The far right use their narratives, it's a populistic thing for them … they [talk] about conspiracies and the Jews". Nevertheless, this woman was of the view that, overall: "anti-Semitism in Greece is not obvious, you don't see incidents in your everyday life, but racism against refugees is more apparent. Refugees and Roma [face more discrimination]."

3.2.24 When these young people were asked if they foresaw a continuation or an increase in the incidence of racism or anti-Semitism, eight of them (five males and three females) speculated that such incidents would disappear in the next few years among people of their generation because of their growing sense of justice and social inclusion. The following statement by one young male is representative of this viewpoint: *"*Our generation has accepted people [for who] they are, at least the majority of us … most of us have seen that people are different and we are okay with this." By contrast, two female teachers discussed how there is no room for complacency since: "[I] believe that if we look at … blogs online, and we read what people say to each other, there are those who are affiliated with the Golden Dawn [a far-right party], which is neither small nor innocent … we should be on the alert."

3.2.25 The report on **Moldova** noted that, "According to data collected by the Jewish communities of Moldova, the main actors in virtually all acts of anti-Semitism (vandalism, including the use of anti-Semitic and Nazi symbols and expressions) are children of senior high school age" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 5). In the evaluation of the authors of the report: "This indicates that the problem of anti-Semitism in Moldova is directly related to schooling and the latter's impact on learning and the development of ethnic, religious and cultural tolerance among adolescents" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 5).

3.2.26 In the project's own primary research in Moldova, from the results of the questionnaires given to young people, it was reported that "[o]ut of 27 young interviewees, nine indicated that they had never encountered the notion of anti-Semitism, although they all responded positively to the question of whether they were familiar with the notion of the Holocaust" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 7). At the same time, even in relation to the historical Holocaust, "the language used in a particular school results in the teaching of different versions of history" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 4), with the subject of the Holocaust "getting better coverage in Russian language schools than in Romanian language schools".

3.2.27 Since 2015, 27 January has been a National Day of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust, and in July 2016, the Moldovan Parliament approved a declaration adopting the final report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, chaired by Elie Wiesel, followed in 2017 by government approval of an Action Plan for the Study of the Holocaust in Moldova. The practical consequences of this, as noted by Cosovan and Rank (unpublished, 2017: 2), have not been very significant. Indeed, "Holocaust denial is not illegal in Moldova, which is contrary to common European practice. Moreover, radical right-wing and fascist Romanian figures from the 1930s and 1940s, such as Ion Antonescu, are still glorified in Moldova" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished 2017: 2-3).

3.2.28 Overall, it was noted that: *"*students have no idea that the Jews have had a long and rich history on the territory of modern Moldova" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 4), and with regard to the contemporary Jewish community and anti-Semitism in Moldova: "If the subject of a Jewish presence in Moldova is mentioned, this is done exclusively in connection with the Holocaust." Even in relation to the Holocaust, however, the authors of the Moldova report highlighted that: "Most students associated the events of the Holocaust with the territory of Germany, and only eight students mentioned the phenomenon of the Holocaust in Moldova", leading to a key summary finding of the Moldova research, which was that, "The key problem

that this research revealed is that students fail to see a direct connection between anti-Semitism and the Holocaust" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 8).

3.2.29 In relation to **Poland** (citing Tych, 2008: 16), "for post-war generations of Poles, Jews became an abstraction in the majority of cases, a concept based on myths and negative stereotypes," the authors of the report (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017) highlighted the Anti-Defamation League's 2015 survey finding that the level of anti-Semitic attitudes among Polish people was the highest of all Eastern European countries.

3.2.30 At the same time, Kasprzak and Walczak (unpublished, 2017: 9) also noted Kucia's (2008) finding, summarised in their own words as: "Anti-Semitism among young Poles is rarer than among adults". Nevertheless, the report on Poland notes, for example, "Youths often witness signs of anti-Semitic behaviour not only on school grounds, but also in other public spaces, eg. the football environment, where derogatory comments tinged with anti-Semitism are used to verbally attack fans of the opposite teams" (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 11).

3.2.31 In relation to the linguistic expression of anti-Semitism, the report on Poland notes that: "Students often connect the stereotype of a Jew with stinginess" and that "it's often used in language … when someone tells somebody else not to be a Jew". Indeed, this was so much the case that "[t]he term 'Jew' has [taken on] pejorative features" and "anti-Semitism among students is visible especially at the language level" (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 2, 11), with male students using anti-Semitic expressions more often, while female students revealed a higher level of what the authors of the report called "social distance" towards Jews (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 3). Indeed, Kasprzak and Walczak's (2008) earlier research had already highlighted that, in the province of Podlasie, Jews were the group that respondents felt the highest level of social distance from, overall.

3.2.32 Kasprzak and Walczak's (unpublished, 2017: 9) research report on Poland points out that the Polish Survey of Prejudice indicates the existence of three forms of anti-Semitism: "conspiratorial, traditional, and referential". They also highlight that the survey shows that: "All forms are connected with right-wing authoritarianism and with age. Religiousness is the strongest influence for traditional anti-Semitism, while other forms of anti-Semitism are more common among people of low economic status."

3.2.33 In relation to history, the Poland research reported that "Students with very nationalistic views … like to ask questions [such as]: 'Do you have any proof that Hitler knew about the Holocaust?'" (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 12). It was also noted that teachers from Warsaw and Wrocław highlighted an increase in manifestations of extreme right-wing tendencies among young people. As one teacher put it: "What worries me is the trend [of showing] off emblems and various elements by wearing patriotic clothing". On the other hand, some teachers – notably only from Warsaw – mentioned in relation to being a Jew, or having Jewish roots, that "It [has become] fashionable" (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 12).

3.2.34 But finally, Kasprzak and Walczak (2017: 12) note that "knowledge about Jewish culture and Polish-Jewish relations is mostly poor", citing the example of a small town whose population was around 60 per cent Jewish before World War II, but where "residents were oblivious [to] their town's history; none of them had ever seen a Jew, and [they] think that Jews don't live in Poland nowadays".

3.2.35 In the **United States of America**, in response to the question of whether respondents were personally aware of reported acts of violence, verbal or physical harassment, threats, vandalism, discrimination, exclusion, etc., in the school context in relation to someone because they were Jewish, one out of the six young American respondents to the project questionnaire answered "yes", while the remainder claimed they had not. Out of the 328 teachers who completed the questionnaire (including 52 of whom identified as Jewish), 63 respondents (seven of whom identified themselves as Jewish) said "yes" to a similar question.

3.2.36 The six young interviewees from Portland (none of whom self-identified as Jewish) did not think there were any issues with anti-Semitism in their local area. Many had not even met

anyone who identified as Jewish. This is within a context where only 1 per cent (40,650) of Oregon's population identifies as Jewish (Jewish Virtual Library, 2016) and has been described by the Jewish Federation of Greater Portland (2014) as mostly not institutionally connected (as in the case of one of our American teacher interviewees). Two male students did, however, recount the disturbing news of attacks on 100 headstones at a Jewish cemetery in Philadelphia and of 150 vandalized tombstones in Missouri in February 2017, followed by another 60 gravestones in three Jewish cemeteries in Connecticut in July of the same year. These "senseless acts", as one male student described them, are "beyond their understanding".

3.2.37 When asked in the project's teacher questionnaire about whether anti-Semitism was a problem in the United States and, if so, how significant a problem it was, of the 328 teachers responding (52 of whom identified as Jewish), 170 (including 29 Jewish respondents) said that it was a "fairly big problem"; 90 (including 15 Jewish respondents) said that it was "not a very big problem"; 63 (including eight Jewish respondents) said that it was a "very big problem"; and one, who did not identify as Jewish, said that it was "not at all" a problem, with four respondents (none of whom identified as Jewish) saying that they did not know if it was a problem or not.

3.2.38 When asked in the project's teacher questionnaire to rank which factor, in their opinion, "most contributes to discrimination against or prejudice towards Jews" in their country, of the 328 teachers in the USA who responded (52 of whom identified as Jewish), 153 (including 26 Jewish respondents) stated "family upbringing"; 57 (including seven Jewish respondents) stated "access to fake information"; 35 (including six Jewish respondents) stated "religious ideology"; 24 (including six Jewish respondents) stated the "media"; 19 (including two Jewish respondents) stated "politicians"; 14 (including two Jewish respondents) stated "religious leaders"; 11 (including two Jewish respondents) stated "friends"; nine (including one Jewish respondent) stated the "community"; and six (including no Jewish respondents) stated "school staff".

3.3 Perspectives from experts[38]

3.3.1 CEJI's research report on Belgium noted that, in general, in addition to teachers and students, experts from **Belgium** also "seemed to agree that discrimination and hate speech was on the rise and that stereotypes were expressed more and more freely" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:36). Experts' reactions to other findings in this report diverged, revealing major differences among the perceptions of experts, teachers and students. After "important" and "urgent", comments ranged from "out-of-date", "irrelevant", "imbalanced" and "counterproductive" to "intriguing", "intimidating", "scary" and "taboo".

3.3.2 Therefore, while some considered the research topic to be important and relevant, others were cautious, sceptical and sometimes critical of an approach that focused on anti-Semitism. In a number of cases, anti-Semitism was not seen as a priority, as schools had to spend more time dealing with matters of discipline, dropouts and with other forms of racism and xenophobia. At the same time, some respondents expressed regret that anti-Semitism was not addressed more in school and appeared alarmed that some teachers avoided teaching about the Holocaust.

[38] It should be noted that expert voices were both sourced and integrated in different ways in each national context for research purposes. In Belgium, many experts were interviewed in a group setting rather than as individuals; in Moldova, experts were interviewed, but the original report on the Moldovan research did not differentiate contributions from these participants; in Poland, the expert interviews were all conducted anonymously; while in Germany, Greece and the United States, the experts were interviewed individually but over Skype or similar programmes. In addition, experts in some countries commented less on the presence of anti-Semitism in their countries and schools and more on how to address it. This differential approach to the gathering and presentation of expert data has, in turn, had an impact on the presentation of expert interview data in this report, both in this section and in later sections of the report where expert views are included. In particular, it should be noted that the above reasons explain why there is no identifiable expert input from Moldova, although experts were interviewed there.

3.3.3 Many Belgian experts drew attention to the relationship between anti-Semitism and positions taken on conflicts within society over the relationship between anti-Semitism, Zionism, Israel and views about Palestinians: “Some experts referred to European media coverage of Israel concentrating on military action and the rise of the far right, and hence contributing to the association of Zionism with racism and violence” (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:41). The report also noted the way in which this led to “[t]he violence occasionally expressed at anti-Israel [demonstrations] in Brussels, including calls to ‘Kill the Jews’.”

3.3.4 Experts from **Germany** identified various forms of anti-Semitism. The first can be termed “classical anti-Semitism”, which one of the interviewees thought was mostly limited to extremist religious groups. But it was noted that “the Ultra-Right party in Germany is reluctant to deploy this form of anti-Semitism” because it may alienate most of their voters, members or followers due to its having a specifically racist undertone. On this point, the same expert commented: “In Germany, surveys showed that 10 to 15 [per cent] of the population agree [with the idea] that the Jews killed Jesus Christ. It is this old religious form, but in general [this is no longer] very widespread.”

3.3.5 Two of the German experts argued that one of the most common contemporary types of anti-Semitism found in German society was what they referred to as “secondary anti-Semitism”. Explaining this, one expert stated: “Some anti-Semitic Germans believe we cannot [return] to normality because the Jews always remember the Holocaust. These people blame the Jews for not overcoming the past. They blame [not only] the Jews today but also Israel for oppressing the German government or governments, and [using] atrocities against Jews to ensure [that] countries react positively to Israel.”

3.3.6 These experts added that another (less common) form of anti-Semitism in Germany was related to people who question the use of the word “anti-Semitism” in relation to Jews alone on the basis of the idea that there is “Semitic” history that is also shared with other non-Jewish groups. In relation to this, one expert explained that: “We [also have in] Germany [people] who don’t want to have a Jewish state,” and “This is a problem with anti-Semitism: people only define someone as anti-Semitic when that person’s behaviour or attitude is based on a racist form. The point is [that] anti-Semitism is not limited to racist forms.”

3.3.7 The experts noted that the German government now believes that the incidence of anti-Semitism has been rising and is in need of urgent attention. In relation to this, one expert expressed some concern on the grounds that: “If you look at the numbers of criminal acts and you look at the number of surveys you realise it is on a high level, but it is not different [from a] few years ago. It [can] actually [be seen] in surveys [that] it has decreased a little bit. The Government is focusing on [Muslims] as our main anti-Semitic perpetrators, but that is not true, because 90 per cent of criminal and violent acts are committed by [right-wing] extremists.”

3.3.8 One of the German experts claimed that Germans could use refugees (mainly Muslims) as scapegoats, believing that Muslim refugees were the cause of Germany’s economic and political instability. Another German expert argued that: “I think the point is, if you focus on [Muslims], it helps mislead [mainstream] society into believing it is not us but the [Muslims] who are anti-Semites. We don’t have to worry about that ourselves because ‘we are not the problem’, and that is true because anti-Semitism is also there, not only in extremist political areas, but also in [the] mainstream … so it helps … it is very easy for [mainstream] society to focus on [Muslims] … they are very afraid [of Muslim] anti-Semitism. ... It is not always based on reality but [on feelings], it is something we have to take seriously.” Reflecting on this, the third German expert also rejected the belief that anti-Semitism is “now back in Europe because of [refugee] crises or because of the growing Muslim population”.

3.3.9 The German experts argued that an Internet without borders has helped strengthen anti-Semitic views and generally heightened racism. One of the experts thought that it was important that the German government, along with some other organizations, was working to develop antidotes to abuses of this medium and to counteract the spread of hate online, but that there were limitations to this because of the international nature of the Internet and of social media.

3.3.10 In relation to **Greece**, all the experts interviewed suggested that anti-Semitic views were very much alive in Greece, especially, but not only, in areas dominated by the far right. Commenting on this, one expert stated: "I hear it every day, I hear it in … public speech, I hear it [on] social media." In this expert's view, worst of all was when famous cultural figures or musicians say something that makes "you almost die, and they do not even understand that what they say cannot be said anymore nowadays in Europe". In addition, "some months ago somebody from Greek academia said something that was shameful; he said something about the Holocaust, showing his indifference, and I [almost screamed]. I [thought that] if this person is not even aware of the fact that you cannot talk about the Holocaust like [that], then we are in deep trouble … It means that we have to start from zero!"

3.3.11 However, the Greek experts also saw evidence of positive developments. For instance, for the first time in Thessaloniki's history, the city's mayor asked the 97 remaining Jews in the city for forgiveness for what was done to their families. One of the Greek experts said that prior to this: "Nobody officially from the government talked about the … atrocities [against Jews] in Thessaloniki or the Holocaust. [Nothing like this ever happened, but] now it [has happened]. It is a start. Now we have this official frame; now it is time to fill it … with … things, and [there are] a lot of things to be done in the next few years." It was also noted that the Greek government had started to condemn anti-Semitic views in the national parliament. And since 2016, schools have been required to teach students from the ages of 14 to 18 about the Holocaust every year on 27 January (International Holocaust Remembrance Day, designated by the United Nations General Assembly in 2005).

3.3.12 With regard to **Poland**, experts working with teachers have pointed out that they have observed "an increasing acceptance by teachers for airing radical, including anti-Semitic, views" (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 14).

3.1.13 In addition, as Kasprzak and Walczak (unpublished, 2017: 2) summarize it: "The word 'Jew' itself seems to have such deep, negative connotations in popular understanding that it makes it difficult to discuss these topics. Certain statements from high-ranking politicians and [the heads] of national institutions make it even harder to work with students."

3.3.14 In relation to the **United States**, experts noted that there was an "interesting mix between what we live, what we see, and what we read about". Therefore, as noted by one of the experts who lived in a suburban and strongly Jewish neighbourhood, it was possible as a Jew to live in the United States without immediately encountering anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, the same interviewee noted that all the research "in the last year or two" has shown "a dramatic rise in anti-Semitic incidents in the United States", which for this expert had also been confirmed anecdotally via feedback from the teachers with whom this expert worked.

3.3.15 Asked to explain this rise in anti-Semitic incidents, one of the American experts attributed at least part of it to the 2016 presidential election, saying that the election "provoked real passion and energized people on the far right … [and that] a degree of xenophobia … sort of swept the land and really involved people who were already on the side of or who were white supremacists already, or might have been haters already, they felt able to express themselves publicly".

3.3.16 Another expert spoke of "[a] general opening up that now it is acceptable to say things that for many decades it was no longer acceptable to say, in public, but suddenly there is permission". And as symptomatic of this, two of the other experts based in the United States mentioned the recent events in Charlottesville, Virginia, where at an 11-12 August 2017 "Unite the Right" rally of white nationalists protesting the planned removal of a statue of Confederate General Robert E. Lee, a car was driven at speed into counter-demonstrators, killing one person and injuring 19. As one of the experts commented, it was "very revealing" that some of the groups at that rally were marching on the streets chanting "Jews will not replace us". The same expert also pointed out that his phenomenon is growing.

3.3.17 Among the other catalysts that may have contributed to this rise of anti-Semitism in the United States, three out of the six expert interviewees identified the increased access to, and widespread use of, the Internet, especially via social media such as Facebook, Reddit or 4chan,

where, as one of the experts put it, “antisemitism percolates and sort of bubbles under the surface and every now and then it erupts and you find these concepts spreading in a way that they have not before”.

3.3.18 In relation to the classroom specifically, one of the experts referred to a “significant increase [he had] seen in the past several years of students giving a Nazi salute and sometimes [saying] Heil Hitler”, and that: “What I see in the classroom is … sometimes degrading language about Jews goes … and the teacher … [knows] about it [but is] not sure what to do.”

4. Educational Frameworks for and Examples of Addressing Anti-Semitism

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 In broad terms, it is necessary first to have an understanding of a phenomenon in order to be in a position to identify appropriate measures to address it. Thus, different strategies may be required to respond to different forms of anti-Semitism, including cultural, ideological, racial or political anti-Semitism, and also anti-Judaism (as a kind of religious anti-Semitism) and Judaeophobia (itself a controversial term). There is otherwise the danger that any measures proposed may not be adequate to deal with the issue and could even exacerbate it.

4.1.2 Holocaust education—at least in relation to the Holocaust of the Jewish people in Europe specifically—almost inevitably forms part of any education relating to anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, both anti-Semitism itself and the pedagogies developed to teach about and address it are broader than the historically central focus on the Holocaust of the Jewish people of Europe. At the same time, the specificity of the focus on anti-Semitism as such can also be narrower than the educational initiatives and responses to the Holocaust that have been undertaken, since they often make connections with other attempted genocides besides those aimed at the Jewish people. Thus, while Holocaust education and education relating to anti-Semitism can overlap and converge, it is important that educational analysis, models and initiatives in these areas be informed by an understanding that Holocaust education can be both narrower and broader than education relating to anti-Semitism and vice versa.

4.1.3 In 2013, in relation to the specific field of Holocaust education, the IHRA launched a project to collect and review empirical research in 15 languages. The resulting report (Eckmann, Stevick and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, eds., 2017), called *Research in Teaching and Learning About the Holocaust: A Dialogue Beyond Borders*, identified nearly 400 studies that have featured in more than 600 publications. The report highlights the fact that there is both a more positivist and a more interpretivist approach to empirical research on teaching and learning in relation to the Holocaust, with the majority of the work falling into the interpretivist approach.

4.1.4 Since educational frameworks for Holocaust education were already extensively researched and presented in the IHRA report, the descriptions and discussions in that report will not be repeated here. How to make reasonable inferences in transfering frameworks from the context of Holocaust education more specifically to that of education relating to anti-Semitism more generally entails more difficulties. Nevertheless, as noted in the IHRA's report in relation to Holocaust education, and which the findings of this project suggest could also be applicable to education addressing anti-Semitism, "[a] shift from knowledge retention—do they know everything they should?—to a focus on critical engagement may be constructive" (Eckmann, Stevick and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, eds., 2017: 31).

4.2 Perspectives from young people/students and teachers/educators

4.2.1 In the overall project's primary research in **Belgium**, it was reported that for most students the only time they talk about Jews in the classroom is when studying the Holocaust, and it was thus noted that many challenges faced by teachers regarding anti-Semitism are related to Holocaust education—the amount of time dedicated to such education can vary according to the personal and professional interests of individual teachers.

4.2.2 In the student focus groups, some students had strikingly little to no knowledge of the Holocaust, whereas those who had been most exposed to the topic were also the ones that felt it was being taught too much: “If you keep talking about something, it does not affect you anymore”, said one student, while another within the same group said that, “For some, the past is not important, but for me it is, because history repeats itself” (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:38).

4.2.3 In relation to teachers, it was noted that those who had some previous literacy in relation to Jews and anti-Semitism had a greater sense of urgency to engage with it. Regarding the Holocaust, a number of teachers expressed regret that history classes were taught in a linear rather than in a cross-sectional manner, which might better allow for inter-disciplinary approaches to the Holocaust and citizenship education. In addition, the report on Belgium noted that: “a number of teachers seemed to experience perceptions of repetitiveness and feelings of fatigue and exasperation among their students, who also often drew parallels with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict” (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:24-25).

4.2.4 Among teacher focus groups, awareness and discussion of the working definition of anti-Semitism and broad consensus in relation to understanding of both historical and traditional forms of anti-Semitism were reported. However, in relation to the definition of “new forms” of anti-Semitism—and especially regarding the question of the relationship between anti-Semitism and Israel as a Jewish state—there was much less consensus and, along with this, there was evidence of a widespread and clear hesitancy to engage with these issues in a classroom context.

4.2.5 As reported by CEJI, “[w]hen asked which moments had been decisive in changing their preconceptions and deconstructing their prejudice about Jews”, a majority of the Belgian teachers and students participating in this research “cited direct encounters with Jews and Jewish communities” (CEJI, unpublished, 2017: 9). Other students “cited films they have watched or that were recommended to them by teachers” (CEJI, unpublished 2017: 51).

4.2.6 The Belgium report indicates that experience seems to show that understanding the diversity of origins of religious and secular movements and of the ways that Jews define themselves as Jews or not helps deconstruct basic prejudices. However, the report also noted that this complexity—also in terms of the issue of identities in general—is usually not addressed in Belgian schools, although according to a majority of teachers and educational professionals, addressing this would make sense as part of a comprehensive approach to understanding the richness of identity and promoting social inclusion.

4.2.7 In **Germany**, as noted previously, eight out of the 16 young respondents (including two who identified as Jewish) who completed the project questionnaire affirmed that they were personally aware of reported acts of violence, verbal or physical harassment, threats, vandalism, discrimination, exclusion, etc. in their school context in relation to someone because they were Jewish. Asked how these incidents had been dealt with,[39] there were four responses that claimed that they were not aware of what happened, while seven other responses (including from the two Jewish respondents) affirmed that the incident in question was “not dealt with”, four respondents affirmed that “the aggressor was disciplined”, three respondents affirmed that their teachers had “talked about anti-Semitism”, and two respondents affirmed that “the victim was offered counselling”. From among the 18 teacher respondents (five of whom identified as Jewish) who were asked the same question, three responses (including one from a self-identifying Jewish teacher) stated that the incident was “not dealt with”, two responses affirmed that the teachers “talked about anti-Semitism”, and one response affirmed that “the aggressor was disciplined”.

4.2.8 When the young people were asked whether they were aware of anti-Semitic incidents and about how these were handled, a young male in Berlin claimed that some students and teachers noticed that, when in each other’s company: “Muslims sometimes called each other

[39] It should be noted that respondents were offered the possibility of multiple responses across a range of pre-set descriptive options as well as a free write-in option. Because of this, the number of responses will exceed the number of respondents.

‘Jews’ … to insult each other … [and that] teachers did not regard these as [greater] insults than any other insults used by students. The fact that it is not just an insult was not made a topic or emphasized.” One young male interviewee recalled that when he was insulted at the age of 13 or 14 for being Jewish, leading to an exchange of punches, the teacher did not punish the aggressor. Another male interviewee reported that neither agressors nor victims were disciplined; instead, the students using insults were told that “it is not right” to use certain words and that: “It is accepted to some extent. Children just do stuff like that.”

4.2.9 A young male interviewee in Munich claimed that, unlike his previous non-Christian school, which tolerated “odd students who walked through the hallway calling [out] ‘Heil Hitler’ or [making] a Hitler [salute]”, and they were not stopped, suspended or expelled, his current Christian school set out to “eradicate right[-wing] extremist thoughts” and to make “sure that anti-Semitism and similar things didn’t spread throughout the school”. Some interviewees, however, argued that it was more the location of the school that made a difference rather than the type of school, with a young female interviewee in Munich stating that she believed that Munich itself was “a lot more extreme with racism and anti-Semitism than it is [in the countryside], and, quite a lot of [the] time, … parents make comments at home, and the children just repeat it.”

4.2.10 In relation to teaching about anti-Semitism, one of the young male interviewees from Berlin, who identifed as Jewish, explained that at his Jewish school, he learned a lot about Judaism, other religions, history, people’s prejudices and the reasons for those prejudices. In his view, teachers at non-religious schools did not all have the necessary teaching skills or the confidence to teach about anti-Semitism. He explained that one of his favourite approaches was the one being used by the Kreuzberger Initiative Against Anti-Semitism (KIGA), whereby the trainers distribute “key cards” that recount the stories of refugee children from Muslim countries, and then their stories are compared with Jewish refugee children from World War II.

4.2.11 When other young interviewees were asked whether they learned about anti-Semitism at school, their descriptions of their experiences differed. For example, one young female interviewee from Munich said that the subject of anti-Semitism was taught in History class. Holocaust survivors visited their class; they visited the nearby concentration camp and the Jewish museum; they studied propaganda material (including comics and articles) developed by the Nazis, watched movies, looked at pictures and caricatures, read articles, completed worksheets and discussed the Middle East conflict and how it developed. Later, their teachers began to relate anti-Semitism to current political events.

4.2.12 By contrast, one young female and three male interviewees from Munich claimed that, apart from studying World War I and II and historical events, they did not specifically talk about anti-Semitism. Another female interviewee stated that, with the refugee crisis, anti-Semitism was “completely [put on the back-burner]” in class. Still others recalled writing down the definition of anti-Semitism, visiting a radio station and reading passages from Holocaust survivors’ journals, as well as going on a “mandatory trip to Dachau” in the 10th grade. But one young male interviewee claimed that these lessons, especially the visit to Dachau, were not all well planned. He claimed that students like him felt that: “the teachers [didn’t] really care. It is part of the curriculum, so they have to do it. We went to Dachau, and now [that’s] enough.” Another young male interviewee from Munich suggested that a successful lesson on anti-Semitism depends on the motivation and engagement of the teachers. He recalled that, of all the different history teachers he had, only one that he “trust[ed] discussed this topic with the students during lessons”. Remarking on this teacher, a female peer added, “He doesn’t always completely abide by the curriculum, because he talks to us about the things that he knows are important.”

4.2.13 Three young male interviewees and one female believed that more could be done through teachers linking the past with the present, discussing current everyday issues, engaging with their students, encouraging discussions and teaching their students how to cope with all forms of discrimination. As one of the male interviewees said: “Create an awareness that the problem exists and create possibilities … to deal with it. Just [saying] ‘Don’t insult each other’ … doesn’t help. You have to look at tolerance and ensure a situation [where the students can debate the issues]. This doesn’t happen enough. You need to be on the same level as students. Find out why students say and do what they do. Consider where they got it from. Figure out with them

what they could do instead. Better methods to deal with what they feel like. If the teachers don't do anything but label the students, they [won't] take them seriously anymore."

4.2.14 To improve their lessons on anti-Semitism, four young people from Munich suggested beginning lessons in the eighth or ninth grade rather than the 10th grade before they are confronted with right-wing extremists' views. Agreeing with this, a female interviewee said she believed that, "at the age of 12, 13, 14, you are politically and emotionally old enough to understand". Moreover, added a male interviewee, "students should be taught about the psychological consequences [anti-Semitism] may have on children. Teach about the reasons for this, the roots. What causes this kind of behaviour."

4.2.15 When asked how schools teach about anti-Semitism, the teachers explained that the topic was generally discussed within the subjects of History, Social Studies and Geography. Another teacher interviewee from Munich argued that a visit to Dachau should be well prepared and that teachers should not protect their students from anti-Semitic images because "it is part of our historical reality, and I wouldn't skip anything". Also, he added, teachers should consider their students' background when teaching and should encourage them to engage in self-reflection. To help schools deal with anti-Semitism, this teacher recommended the Weisse Rose Stiftung and Germany's Federal Agency for Civil Education.

4.2.16 Explaining the largely historical focus on anti-Semitism, one female teacher interviewee in Berlin expressed the belief that this was because: "many teachers don't know how to recognize anti-Semitism, and regard it as something else. I think most don't recognize it, but many also don't want to mention it, because it is such a sensitive subject. They suppress it." She added that, occasionally, some History teachers cover present-day anti-Semitism. However, she said that many teachers like her feel they are unable to change some of their students' anti-Semitic views. But, she said, it is important for teachers to try to talk about: "the conspiracy theories that students may know about, [that arise from] present-day anti-Semitism, rather than [historical anti-Semitism] … . There are conspiracy theories that [claim] that the Holocaust did not [happen], but I believe that most refer to present-day anti-Semitism." For this teacher, it is also "very important to work with facts". From her experience, she has found that conspiracies are mostly related to the Middle East conflict, so she suggested that "[this be studied] intensively, and students [be taught] the difference between criticism and anti-Semitism, because most of them are not conscious of this".

4.2.17 As noted previously, in **Greece**, six out of the 17 young people who completed the project questionnaire (including both who self-identified as Jewish) confirmed that they were personally aware of reported acts of "violence, verbal or physical harassment, threats, vandalism, discrimination, exclusion, etc." in their school context in relation to someone they knew because they were Jewish. When asked how such incidents had been dealt with,[40] five responses affirmed that "the victim was offered counselling", three responses affirmed that "the aggressor was disciplined", three responses (including from the two who self-identified as Jewish) affirmed that the incident was "not dealt with", and one response claimed not to know what happened. From among the six (out of 23, including three Jewish) teacher respondents who were asked the same question, there was one response claiming to not fully know what had happened, while one response stated that the incident was "not dealt with", three responses (including one from a Jewish teacher) affirmed that "the victim was offered counselling", two responses affirmed that the teachers "talked about anti-Semitism", and one response affirmed that the "aggressor was disciplined".

4.2.18 In line with the Greek Ministry of Education's guidance, all secondary schools have dedicated a day to learn about the Holocaust. Some schools take students to a Jewish museum, and they show videos in their school auditorium about concentration camps and the genocide, invite guest speakers to talk about the atrocities committed against the Jews and/or distribute leaflets to students to read during the lesson. Unfortunately, as two interviewees (one female and one male) admitted, the approach of their teachers lacked enthusiasm and interest: "[The teachers]

[40] Ibid.

don't do it the right way … and many students, as a result, are put off the topic. It's not something that we are taught in class because we are not [going to] be tested on this, it is not in Greek history, so we don't pay attention to this matter so much", and, "We don't talk about it before we visit [the museum], we don't discuss it … it is a free day." One male interviewee felt the day was a waste of time because "no one wants to remember".

4.2.19 In the focus groups and interviews, a group of five young male interviewees shared their frustrations about their teachers' lack of empathy and inability to handle critical incidents of racism or anti-Semitism in their classrooms. To address these, one young male interviewee suggested that educators should be shown how to develop their "empathy [and] break stereotypes". Therefore, instead of being shown a video and being seated for two hours and being lectured at, two young male interviewees suggested that teachers could initiate discussions and debates on racism and anti-Semitism. Another male interviewee also suggested that schools invite guest speakers from both the racist and non-racist camps to share their conflicting perspectives. The interviewed teachers and students agreed that, in itself, devoting a day to the Holocaust would not make a difference. They felt teachers need to organize appropriate activities that will help capture the attention of and engage their students. One male teacher recommended the use of published literature and the Internet for getting students involved. But this interviewee also warned that teachers need to approach the Internet with care, adding that, after all: "there is a lot of false news there. This is where we need training."

4.2.20 Like the students above, two other teachers (one female and one male) felt there was a need to move away from visiting museums and relying on textbooks towards encouraging open and honest dialogue between the students and their teachers "to help dissolve stereotypes", in the view of one female teacher. Other teachers (two female teachers and one male) recommended celebrating similarities, rather than differences, among the diverse sections of Greek society. A different male teacher recommended introducing games in a safe environment to "help build and integrate personalities" (one female teacher), ensuring that anti-Semitism is "embodied in not only one particular [class] like History, but it should be part of the whole curriculum" and using the arts and theatre to help students express themselves and learn to empathize with others (one female teacher).

4.2.21 Teacher interviewees explained that, in relation to teaching about anti-Semitism, a number of schools in Greece have partnered with different organizations and institutions to help them celebrate Jewishness, Jewish history and, more importantly, to help them develop empathy in their students. At one secondary school, for example, the teachers have partnered with the University of Thessaloniki's theatre to develop compassion among students. Concerning this initiative, a female teacher explained, "We [are trying] to sensitize the students, we use experiential learning." At another school, teachers have developed an initiative to help address misbehaviour quickly and efficiently outside the classroom by utilizing the students as available resources. Concerning this initiative, one female teacher said: "In our school, we have this Friendship team, where children function as firefighters to extinguish small problems."

4.2.22 One male teacher suggested a cultural exchange with Israel to help bridge any cultural misunderstandings. This view, however, was contested by another male teacher, who felt the state of Israel and the Jewish religious community were unrelated: "This would be an issue here … I am not sure about it regarding the state of Israel because there is a difference between the Jewish community as a religious community and the state of Israel."

4.2.23 In the project's primary research in **Moldova**, as has previously been noted, a lack of coming to terms with the history of anti-Semitism was identified as a more general context in the society as a whole, including for the authorities. As a result of these issues, the authors of the Moldova report placed a strong focus on the importance of addressing these matters through official changes to the curriculum and associated in-service training since, overall, the present situation is characterized by what Cosovan and Rank (2017: 3) called "curriculum bottlenecks".

4.2.24 The research report also highlights that "All of the teachers in all the three focus groups complained about the lack of materials for studying the Holocaust in school and of the lack of a co-ordinated and centralized programme providing a list of topics and related tasks. Most

teachers complained about insufficient support from the Ministry of Education or even of resistance from the Ministry to personal initiatives on the part of teachers" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 6-7).

4.2.25 The Moldova report also noted that: "most teachers who accepted the invitation to take part in the focus groups were from schools with Russian as the language of instruction. Teachers from schools with Romanian as the language of instruction are not interested in the topics of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust and do not consider them to be sufficiently important in the educational process" (Cosovan and Rank, unpublished, 2017: 5).

4.2.26 Among those teachers who engaged with the research, it was noted that elective subjects could be particularly useful in developing a broader approach to engaging with discrimination and anti-Semitism. In particular, it was highlighted that teachers could use the relative freedom of tutorials to develop a list of topics to engage with in relation to local issues involving anti-Semitism and human rights.

4.2.27 In relation to **Poland**, the research report's proposals for education about anti-Semitism as part of the civics programme suggest that eighth-grade students should know how to "recognize the symptoms of xenophobia, including racism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism; and … argue for the need to oppose such phenomena."

4.2.28 Teachers saw the best approach possible as occuring in classes that make a connection between history and the present, with a sense that anti-Semitism both can and should be extended by reference to broader issues of human and civil rights. This was especially the case when the subject is linked to more complex issues like multiculturalism. In line with observations from the research in Poland about the different forms taken in manifestations of anti-Semitism on the part of male and female students, teachers also generally recommended a gender diffentiation for students in addressing anti-Semitism.

4.2.29 In the project's primary research in Poland, teachers often wanted to count on the support of the authorities in engaging with anti-Semitism more broadly. As noted in the research report, "Teachers who participated in the interviews emphasized the significance of the attitude of public opinion influencers"(Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 17).

4.2.30 At the same time, concerns were identified in relation to the potential for teachers to lose (at least perceived) educational neutrality. In terms of overall strategies, it was noted that deeply rooted stereotypes can emerge when discussing difficult moments in shared history, and often with relatively young students. Linked to this, some teachers noted that some forms of education about anti-Semitism might run the risk of introducing previously unknown stereotypes, although participants had differing and contested views in relation to this.

4.2.31 In the **United States of America**, one out of the six young American respondents who completed the project questionnaire affirmed that they were aware of reported acts of "violence, verbal or physical harassment, threats, vandalism, discrimination, exclusion, etc." in their school context in relation to someone because they were Jewish. When asked how such incidents had been dealt with,[41] the respondent reported that they did not know. From among the 63 (out of 328) teacher respondents who were asked the same question, five responses affirmed that the "aggressor was disciplined", four responses (including one from a Jewish teacher) affirmed that "the teachers talked about anti-Semitism", one response affirmed that the "victim was offered counselling", one response claimed to not fully know what happened, and two responses claimed that the incident was not dealt with.

4.2.32 It is worth mentioning that one teacher, who claimed that the victim was offered counselling and that the aggressor was disciplined, added that "[the police] were involved in addressing the issue". However, comments from a range of other respondents who felt that the incident in

[41] Respondents were offered the possibility of multiple responses across a range of pre-set descriptive options, as well as a free write-in option.

question was not dealt with at all included: “One victim lost [their job]. [A] class action lawsuit by several Jewish faculty was settled out of court. [The] settlement included various measures from mandatory diversity training for the campus to creating a faculty position to teach Jewish Studies for five years." Also, “[t]he assistant principal downplayed the incident by saying, ‘he is just a kid.’ …It is downplayed by school … It was the school administrator and [a] charter school company, so there was no one to complain to.”

4.2.33 When asked about whether they were being taught about anti-Semitism and how to address it, the six young interviewees in the United States referred to what they had learned in passing about the Holocaust while they were studying the history of World War II, and not to having had any experience of lessons that specifically addressed anti-Semitism. However, the relatively large number of completed questionnaires from teachers and other education professionals in the United States did highlight a range of indoor and outdoor activities and resources that were being used in the United States in teaching about, and engaging with, anti-Semitism. These activities and resources are set out in Table 2 in Appendix 1 to this report.

4.3 Perspectives from experts[42]

4.3.1 In order for curriculum models to be effective, they have to be created in such a way that they can be used by educators and linked to specific contexts. In the project’s primary research in **Belgium**, experts stressed that in order to address anti-Semitism, the complexity of contexts needs to be understood.

4.3.2 According to some experts (and also some teachers) addressed in Belgium, schools were failing to address anti-Semitism when it occurred, minimising incidents and putting their image before the physical and moral integrity of their students (CEJI, unpublished, 2017: 29). In some cases where media coverage resulted in the mobilisation of schools to address anti-Semitism, and where these immediate, reactive responses were not followed up with longer-term engagement, this led to a lack of trust from Jewish students, and some said they were afraid to report incidents when they occurred. Some experts (and teachers) felt that schools could easily become overwhelmed by anti-Semitic incidents and may lack either the time or the tools to deal with them. Certain Jewish communities wanted challenges in the classroom to be urgently addressed so that Jewish students could stay in, or return to, Belgian public schools.

4.3.3 The report on Belgium noted that there were a variety of schemes to provide teacher training and to engage students in ad hoc programmes, usually organized by civil society organizations, that address the challenges of anti-Semitism in the classroom. These initiatives include training for working in an intercultural/interfaith environment, classroom interventions on topics ranging from identities and diversity, inter-culture and inter-faith, conflict resolution, genocides, the Holocaust, better understanding of the Israel-Palestine conflict and conspiracy theories, among others. Visits to memorial sites both within and outside of Belgium are also common, as are visits to the Jewish Museum and other cultural organizations or events such as theatre productions and movie screenings. The Jewish community has made available on their website (www.ccojb.be) a series of fact sheets for use by educators.

4.3.4 Through the largest teacher training institute in Belgium, the IFC (Institut de Formation en cours de Carrière), teachers are offered a voluntary two-day training course called “Understanding Jews, Judaism and Contemporary Manifestations of Anti-Semitism”. Another teacher training structure, called the CAF (Centre d’Autoformation et de Formation Continue), offers training on a variety of subjects linked to citizenship and diversity, including one called “History, memory and citizenship education: genocides – analysing the concept and risk indicators”.

[42] See footnote 40 for an explanation of the background to the differential nature of the presentation in this section of the contributions from interviewed experts.

4.3.5 Through the new Pact of Excellence for Belgian schools, which went into effect in secondary schools in September 2017, there is one hour per week of available space in the curriculum for teachers to address questions related to citizenship. Issues concerning prejudice and stereotyping more broadly, and anti-Semitism more specifically, can potentially be addressed by teachers at their own initiative. Despite the availability of a variety of resources to address anti-Semitism and intolerance in Belgian schools, the ad hoc nature of their occurrence, combined with a lack of guidance or rigour by the Ministry of Education as to the standards in this regard, leads to significant inconsistency in what students learn across the country. Experts (as well as teachers) generally agreed that the non-compulsory approach to teaching the Holocaust resulted in significant knowledge discrepancies among students, and experts also repeatedly stressed the need for greater institutionalization of existing resources (such as those outlined above) across the school system, including, for example, an update of the history class framework, which dates back to 2000.

4.3.6 An expert interviewee from **Germany** expressed the belief that anti-Semitism should be everyone's responsibility, including the school director, teachers and other non-teaching staff at schools. This expert also emphasized that schools would need to improve communication and build partnerships and trust between parents and teachers especially in schools with a diverse student population where more than one language is spoken.

4.3.7 One expert suggested that a strategy that could be adopted was for schools to organize a day—as the Jewish Museum in Berlin has done in the past—and invite teachers, pupils and parents to openly discuss a certain topic. But if teachers are going to teach about anti-Semitism in an engaging way, our expert expressed the belief that teachers would need to have the intrinsic motivation to do so.

4.3.8 Added to this, while experts noted that wider federal programmes to address anti-Semitism exist, they also noted that they have limited funding and a shelf life of only five years. The same expert commented: "It is better than four years ago, when [these] NGOs [only had] money … for three years. But then they [had] to invent [a] so-called pilot project and there is no continuity. If they have best practices, they do not have money to implement them, so it is very much project-based and … always limited to a few years. [This] means that after four or five years, the NGOs will have to search for another job because they do not have money. It is a question of money more than content, but without financial support it is not possible to continue working in that area. We need continuous funding … it's not that they think the NGOs are underperforming, no … it's more the idea [is] that 'let's do it for five years and see how it goes'. The programmes are always connected to the legislative period, that is, for four years, and then things stop until [a] new government is elected ... ."

4.3.9 In **Greece**, in relation particularly to the government-required Holocaust Day activities, some experts argued that the key to success was ensuring that students were able to identify with the victims of the Holocaust and with Jewish culture. One expert stated: "We need to make sure that this is something that has to do with them personally and it has something to do with the person's life, it is not something outside the sphere of their life. They have to identify with it and talk about it. It's very important to understand their Greek identity and the local identity and about [their] city and about responsibility, and the future and genocides. [These] young people have to be attached to it. You cannot say to students 'read page 45'; of course, you will not reach many people, that's why we are trying. I am convinced [of this]: … school education is in crisis … [and] that is why there is a need to open up new spaces of knowledge and exchange with society and not necessarily in this official education system, but [we have to] find ways to connect and build bridges."

4.3.10 To address this, the experts offered examples of how to address anti-Semitism that are similar to the teachers' suggestions. One expert, however, recommended that teachers ought to venture outside the confinement of the school walls and the constraints of the school curriculum in order to allow students to learn naturally and feel less inhibited physically and mentally. This expert suggested that one notable extracurricular outdoor summer activity, for instance, that could help achieve this was the Action Reconciliation Service for Peace that is held every year in different countries. In the summer of 2017, its third summer camp was hosted in Western

Macedonia in Greece. Young people from Greece and all over the world were able to explore Jewish life as it was lived here and get to know the people in the village of Kleissoura.

4.3.11 Our experts recommended student and teacher exchange programmes and explained that there was a need to develop a so-called suitcase tool or a book tailored to Greek society to help teachers, students and parents understand the Holocaust from the point of view of Jewish survivors and to learn how to teach about it. On this subject, one of our experts said: "[This] is the beginning, and this is why we are relying on the support of others and their goodwill. When [the initiative gathers momentum] it will [become self-supporting], but right now you need to follow [how things develop] and [nurture] it, and we said we are going to work with the University of Thessaloniki in November [2017] to talk about [a teacher] exchange … and [we'll] see how [it goes]. We are not sure how it will work out, if there will be a book or a guide developed as a result of the exchange to help teachers learn how to teach about the Holocaust in the classroom. We absolutely have no idea how it will work out."

4.3.12 In relation to **Poland**, experts noted that visits to sites of remembrance—such as former death camps and ghettos—can have a positive impact in terms of addressing anti-Semitism, especially where Holocaust education utilizes survivor stories and demonstrates connections with students' peers. However, experts also emphasized that, if these opportunities are to be able to address anti-Semitism effectively, then teachers' attitudes and knowledge need to be developed (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017), and that teachers need support not only in relation to materials and scenarios, but also in having opportunities for them both to exchange information and to share personal experience.

4.3.13 Finally, in the project's primary research in Poland, current issues related to Palestine and Israel were seen as being too hard to deal with or too likely to cause conflict. More broadly, although, as previously noted, teachers often wanted to rely on authorities to help them engage with anti-Semitism, there was also evidence that teachers made their own decisions within their classroom practice, where they had the most direct professional control and flexibility. In particular, it was suggested that teachers could encourage the exploration of local Jewish histories as an element of regional or national history. In developing such an approach, the value of specialized institutions (e.g., museums) and specialist websites (e.g., www.sztetl.org.pl) was stressed. But in addition to teaching facts, the importance of teachers encouraging students to try to understand the experience of others was emphasized, and in the research report on Poland, a number of experts recommended linking education about the Holocaust with analysis of psychological and social mechanisms and also to "juxtapose them with different crimes against humanity" (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 25).

4.3.14 In engaging with various attitudes, both teachers and experts thought that the use of role-playing exercises could be a creative and beneficial approach. Religion classes could also be used in a positive way, and general tutorial lessons could utilize opportunities for 20-minute presentations and similar approaches. Indeed, the potential benefit of using short movies and social media when interacting with young people was highlighted. At the same time, it was noted that outsiders to schools could be seen as having greater authority among students than their regular teachers. Therefore, a proposal was made to create a mobile group of teachers who could be deployed in schools where specific probems with anti-Semitism emerged in order to lead classes there.

4.3.15 In the **United States of America**, Holocaust education has been present in a number of states as a required topic in the public school curriculum since the 1990s, but many teachers were, as one expert put it, "nervous about providing examples that will traumatize people". And yet "[c]reating empathy requires having an emotional impact on people", and so while the development of "strategies for creating empathy" was considered important, not much thought was given to "trying to help students process issues emotionally", although one way in which to do this was suggested as "having students write about the emotional impact of what they read".

4.3.16 The same expert observed in relation to the classroom that "mostly what I see is teaching of the Holocaust leading to increases in anti-Semitism", although "I think it's preventable." Commenting on this danger, a different expert argued strongly that "you shouldn't teach about the Holocaust only as something that exposes students who have never met any Jewish people

to images of Jewish death and Jewish suffering and Jewish victimisation … It's very important to locate the Holocaust in a larger trajectory of Jewish experience and Jewish history ... and that students should not come out of the course without understanding that it is one chapter in a much longer story, and that that story continues now … and that we need to reflect on the ideas we have about contemorary Jews when we are studying about the Holocaust … we need to know those two things are [related] in some way … that notion of 'extending the story' and familiarising the students with what Judaism is has been extremely important and very successful."

4.3.17 However, the expert who pointed out the danger that teaching about the Holocaust can lead to increases in anti-Semitism argued instead for Holocaust courses "to be broadened to be about genocide". This was partly because "[w]e shouldn't be sending the message that a particular genocide is more important than another" and partly because "the strategies are the same" for addressing other areas of discrimination and bias. So, for this expert, it also did not generally make sense to create a specific curriculum for dealing with anti-Semitism. Indeed, this expert thought that creating a separate curriculum could entail a "danger of creating animosity".

4.3.18 Nevertheless, a number of experts felt that schools were "not doing very well with any of the issues of bias". Half of the experts consulted argued that schools needed to work more closely with their staff and communities to help address biases of all kinds, including anti-Semitism. One of the American experts suggested that one way of doing this was to help teachers "who want to avoid issues like religion and politics in public school classrooms" to expand their understanding of different cultures, develop their language, enhance their confidence and reclaim their right to freely discuss these issues with their pupils outside the confinement and pressure of the curriculum.

4.3.19 Another way to address this, suggested a different American expert, was for school leaders and school staff to encourage a continuous open and honest dialogue with pupils, their parents and other colleagues to help unearth the roots of anti-Semitic views. It is through this kind of open, honest sharing and deep listening, this expert suggested, that the community's understanding of these issues can be transformed.

4.3.20 Another expert argued that it is important to begin by establishing that there are "some boundaries you don't cross if you want to be accepted … in our classroom community". For example, "[w]e don't accept if you single out a certain group of people and blame them for things, for their religious, ethnic background". This expert thinks that "in our multicultural classroom", this kind of ground rule "can be established and has to be established". But beyond that, achieving an understanding about why some stereotypes are wrong will be even more challenging to do, and then also "to reflect not only stereotypes but sentiments", because "often anti-semitic views are driven by sentiments rather than just learned stereotypes".

4.3.21 The aim of creating such awareness is of trying to get students "instead of being passive bystanders to be active bystanders" or, as some prefer to say, to become "upstanders". In this, in relation to anti-Semitism (but also other forms of bias), one is looking for students to "speak up" in one or more of three ways: first, to "speak up in a respectful way", challenging hurtful or inaccurate speech; second, "[i]f there is a target, to reach out to the target [to] check … if they are OK"; and third, "to go tell an adult". This latter happens the least because students can be reluctant to do so. Nevertheless, "students can do a lot to change the climate … in schools".

5. Training and Other Support Needed by Teachers in Addressing Anti-Semitism

5.1. Introduction

5.1.1 In consultative meetings with educators, it was argued that knowing others better can reduce prejudice and that, in relation to anti-Semitism, it was important to deal with positive Jewish themes and to integrate Jewish history, life and religion into subjects generally rather than learning about Jews only through the lens of the Holocaust. This could include consideration of what Judaism is, the contribution of Jews to society, Jewish perceptions of themselves and of society, great Jewish individuals and the similarities and differences among the Abrahamic religions.

5.2 Perspectives from teachers, education professionals and experts[43]

5.2.1 In **Belgium**, many teachers noted that they were not trained or equipped to deal with anti-Semitism in either its more traditional or its more contemporary forms. This was not least because, as the CEJI report on anti-Semitism in Belgium put it: "Teachers also had to be trained on these topics with regard to themselves, as a teacher's insecurity with regard to their own identities often resulted in the inability to reflect related challenges" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017: 40). This lack of confidence (which included a broader lack of confidence also in relation to addressing other sensitive social issues) resulted in a tendency for them to avoid such issues altogether. Experts and education professionals felt that teachers could draw more upon non-formal education approaches to facilitate the best-possible learning scenario for their students.

5.2.2 Many teachers are not experts on issues of racism, anti-Semitism and other forms of prejudice and discrimination. Education professionals recognized that teachers need space to examine their own potential biases towards students and their parents, as well as an opportunity to develop an understanding of the way specific forms of prejudice function in society. There is a need to provide a balance between equipping teachers to broadly address diversity, inclusion and prejudice on the one hand, and being able to educate about, or intervene in, actual cases of hatred, such as anti-Semitism, on the other.

5.2.3 Experts and teachers agreed that a fundamental review of the approach to history and memory education is needed to reflect the diversity of contemporary Belgian society. If the Holocaust is central to European and Belgian collective memory, it needs to be taught in a universal yet specific manner that builds bridges between history, memory and citizenship education.

5.2.4 It was also noted that "[t]eachers need to be able to easily adapt materials, approaches and teaching methods to a school's and classroom's specific reality" and that for them to be equipped to do this "requires institutionalised in-service training for teachers on working in intercultural and interconvictional environments, on diversity education and on anti-discrimination, regardless of the subject. There is also a need for teachers to have the opportunity to examine specific [types of discrimination] more closely" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:59).

5.2.5 What the Belgian research described as the "fragmentation" (CEJI, unpublished, 2017:36) of

[43] In relation to what is reported here about the contributions of experts, please see footnote 40.

the Belgian school system was seen as being a significant barrier to positive intercultural relations. Inclusion and equal opportunities need to be reflected across the system as a whole so that students can feel a greater sense of belonging and be more open-minded towards people of different backgrounds. Strategies to facilitate contact between schools and communities of varying profiles, when done well, are reported to have had a positive effect on the problem of anti-Semitism but also on the well-being of students, teachers and school life more generally.

5.2.6 In **Germany**, in order to support schools, several federal programmes have been developed to help address both racism and xenophobia. However, one of our experts explained that most of these programmes have focused on major cities such as Frankfurt and Berlin, where far-right activists can be found. Because each city is politically unique, with its own decentralized education system, many of the best practices shared could not be implemented in other cities, towns and villages in a straightforward way. Commenting on this, one expert said: "We do things in Berlin because we have the government and also the parliament there … . There [is] also a right[-wing] extremist presence there … . A lot of these NGOs developed new NGOs and new programmes specially focused on anti-Semitism. … [T]he problem is [that] our programmes have become limited to … Berlin's [particular] education system and its political situation. We cannot [necessarily] implement the same things in places like Bavaria, which has a totally different education system. So, it is very important to get into all 16 federal states", and that what was needed was a coherent long-term plan that was individually tailored to each federal state in Germany.

5.2.7 When asked to comment on how schools address anti-Semitism, one of the German experts argued that schools should be addressing all types of anti-Semitism, but he added that "the problem is that teachers are sometimes the problems more than the pupils". On this subject, another expert stated: "The problem with teachers [in Germany] is that they are not robots in front of the class. They are … human beings who may have … political views, understanding, attitudes or sympathies with one thing or another." In this context, the experts suggested moving away from offering optional seminars to teacher trainees on the Holocaust and to offer instead compulsory core lessons on addressing anti-Semitism.

5.2.8 According to the German experts interviewed, teachers need to be encouraged to experiment and question their own political, religious and ethical convictions since teachers were at times reluctant to push their boundaries. In particular, on the basis of Continuing Professional Development work with a range of teachers, one expert noted that some teachers steer away from discussing or teaching about the Middle East conflict for fear of losing control of their classroom and/or their credibility, stating that: "In Berlin, you have this discourse that everything is a problem and teachers don't dare teach about [the] conflict [in the Middle East] because they are afraid of their pupils, who are all very strongly opposed [to] Israel and say [that] you, as a German, cannot understand what's happening."

5.2.9 One of the experts explained that, similar to other countries, there were several self-funded and government-funded organizations that help train teachers, including the KIGA Initiative, founded in 2003 in protest against anti-Semitic uprisings among migrant communities in Berlin. There is also the "Rent-a-Jew" programme, which offers a series of seminars across Germany to help explain Jews and Jewish identity and combat anti-Semitism.

5.2.10 What is perhaps necessary, one expert suggested, is for teachers to be taught the roots of anti-Semitism in relation to, for example, new conflicts involving Islam. Teachers, this expert suggested, need to convey to their students the "political, historical [and] economic dimensions of this conflict and … [that] it's nothing to do with [being] Jewish or not Jewish but rather [that] it has to do with anti-Jewish resentment … . I think that it is necessary so that they can react when [a] pupil says something like 'the Jews took away our land', you have to reply."

5.2.11 In **Greece**, five young interviewees attributed teachers' lack of engagement with anti-Semitism to the teachers' lack of training (one male, two females), fear of embarrassing victims (one girl), lack of personal drive (one male) and lack of self-confidence (one female). Unlike these interviewees, another young male interviewee expressed the belief that the demands of the curriculum and teachers' heavy workload were to be blamed for some teachers' reluctance to

spend their time addressing racism. To rectify this, another young male interviewee suggested setting strict classroom rules to address any incidents of anti-Semitism. Another female interviewee proposed class punishment, and yet another male interviewee recommended the appointment of a trained expert.

5.2.12 When giving their views on the adequacy of teacher training support in relation to anti-Semitism, the Greek experts responded in terms of Holocaust education, saying that teachers were not well equipped to teach about this. Thus, one expert stated: “Teachers do not have a clue, how could they? They are not even in an atmosphere that would help. They do not have the tools; they do not have [the] vocabulary; they do not have the methods; they do not have [anything] … In Greece, there are 10 teachers who could teach about the Holocaust.”

5.2.13 And, despite the attempt by the Jewish Museum in Thessaloniki to educate teachers by offering them a choice of different seminars, one expert claimed that many teachers continued to struggle to apply theory to practice inside and outside classrooms. According to the interviewee, one reason for this was that while the Jewish Museum may have the subject knowledge, it “does not have [too much] pedagogical [expertise]”. In other words, the staff delivering the training at the museum lack the necessary pedagogical content knowledge and teaching experience to inform teachers’ practice.

5.2.14 In the research report on **Moldova**, a need for including teacher training/retraining in developing tolerance and countering anti-Semitism was highlighted. However, a central part of implementing change within an overall tolerance strategy was identified as revising the History/Civic Education curriculum.

5.2.15 It was noted that there could be potential benefits in drawing on the experience of other countries and their education systems. At the same time, it was stressed that curriculum change alone would not be sufficient; instead, there was a need to develop new textbooks and to create resource centres for History and Humanities teachers, as well as for specialists in pedagogical approaches.

5.2.16 In the research report on **Poland**, it was noted that: “This research shows (probably not for the first time) how important the teacher is, as well as his/her attitude, values, and mental models. These determine the way he/she works with students and what content he/she provides to his/her students” (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 25).

5.2.17 Because of the importance of the teachers, the authors of the report on Poland pointed out that career education and skills upgrading for teachers in the area of education to address anti-Semitism seems to play a key role. The authors also remarked that: “Interviewed teachers and experts raised three factors determining the efficiency of these actions, both at central and local level: these were co-ordination of different subject activities, stable financing, and consistent policy implementation. They also noted that there is no coherent and consistent policy towards countering discrimination” (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 18).

5.2.18 At the same time, the Polish report also emphasized the importance of local school leadership, noting that: “At the level of schools, the principal is the key actor. He/she provides two kinds of support: on the one hand, [logistical support] (managing substitutions, helping with the organization of trips, e.g., to places of remembrance), on the other hand, … he/she provides emotional and formal support, e.g., when parents or local [communities] raise objections” (Kasprzak and Walczak, unpublished, 2017: 18).

5.2.19 In the **United States of America**, two of the teacher interviewees expressed the belief that the main obstacles to teaching about tolerance and inclusion were the lack of time and the pressing need to complete the curriculum. If teachers are to succeed in their endeavour to teach about social justice, the two teachers suggested that teachers would need to make time for discussions inside and outside the classroom. Also, an online teacher added, educators would need to introduce an open and safe platform for their students to encourage them to share and discuss important personal and social issues.

5.2.20 When the above-mentioned online teacher was asked whether the use of a live unrestricted chat pod or chat room could help improve students' understanding of anti-Semitism, he responded positively, but he suggested that teachers would need to be trained to recognize racial micro-aggressions and to challenge students regarding their use of inappropriate statements before they escalated. He also explained that, as a starting point: "We would never say 'anti-Semitism' … one of the first things we talk about is … how we communicate with each other and how we solve problems and what if someone does this and what if they do that." Another thing the online teacher identified as lacking in some teachers was an understanding of their students' cultures and traditions. In relation to this, it was recommended that teachers would benefit from a crash course on diverse communities to learn not only to appreciate their cultural differences, but also to encourage their students to think and exchange ideas freely in a safe environment. The online teacher suggested that teachers could perhaps share with their students information about their personal upbringing and their families to help break down barriers and encourage them to feel free to talk about whatever they want to talk about.

5.2.21 Two of the interviewed experts expressed the belief that American teachers were generally not properly trained to identify and address anti-Semitic sentiments, nor indeed crimes or prejudices of any kind. They said that teachers were not given the necessary language to talk about social issues. One of the experts commented: "It is hard for them, especially when we get into political issues, they may want to avoid issues like religion and politics in a public school classroom. So, we need to help and give them the language to talk about it." The experts also recognized that, while training is important, the pressure of the curriculum, assessments and the amount of time needed prevents many teachers from applying their training and addressing curricular topics related to social justice in the classroom.

5.2.22 Some of the experts argued for the importance of educating both students and parents about human vulnerability. One argued that anti-Semitism, along with other broader forms of prejudice, discrimination and hatred, was rooted in a biological, rather than a psychological, reaction: "We are biologically wired to become anxious when we meet someone who is very different [from] us. It makes … evolutionary sense, a way to avoid being captured and eaten." Thus, this expert argued that it was the primary duty of the education system to tell children that: "it is totally normal to become anxious when they meet someone who is very different [from] themselves. And, then, also to explain to children that there are helpful or healthy ways to recognize and manage these anxieties." This expert added: "It is important to support educational diversity and, of course, to monitor that anxiety … people will need to protect themselves and be safe, but they need to know there are smart and informed ways to do so."

5.2.23 Many of the American experts were also convinced that schools needed to set in motion professionally developed efforts and support schoolteachers in their attempt to become more inclusive, sympathetic and connected to their students and their families. With this aim in mind, the experts said teachers would first need to understand their students' cultures and help develop their own sense of social justice, their resilience and their empathy. One of the American experts suggested introducing intergenerational school efforts so students and their teachers could learn from one another. Another expert commented, however, that the failure of programmes to address anti-Semitism and activities undertaken by students were the result of school systems' preference "to talk to their students rather than with their students". One expert suggested that if these first steps were taken to improve schools, then teaching any topic could become a shared experience and might be well received by both students and teachers.

5.2.24 Around half of the US experts also claimed that many schools' policies in the United States were focused on discipline and punitive measures. In relation to this, one of the experts advised that a better approach would be to educate teachers on how to create a safe environment for all students. One expert explained that, in some schools, the development of empathy is explored through student engagement with the question of what it means to be a witness and what it means to suffer, whether the victim is experiencing racism, sexism or anti-Semitism.

5.2.25 The same US experts claimed that some teachers were generally reluctant to address social justice in their classrooms. One expert stated that, "We need to help our teachers understand and develop their awareness about anti-Semitism, homophobia, racism, etc. as part of the other socially informed, instructional goals to be taught in class." This same expert went on to

advocate that, “We also … start out with looking at identity, so we don’t jump right into looking at bias” and that “[g]etting people to think about themselves and other people, not being one part of one identity group but being part of multiple identity groups, can start to help break down those barriers so we start with issues of identity”. And in conclusion, the same expert said: “You know, having a common language to talk about these issues is really important … [and] having an understanding of the different ‘isms’ and [what] the different forms of bias are and not having it be what some people would call an ‘oppression Olympics’, like some people would be like ‘mine is worse than yours’. So really trying to find the commonalities and differences with them and recognizing that we all need to come together as different communities to address hate [in general] and not just against one community, that you can’t really compare that one group had it worse.”

6. Identifying the Challenges from the Project Research

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 The principal aim of this research was ***to identify from the project's overall primary research*** a set of ***key challenges*** that will lead to the identification of a number of ***recommendations*** associated with them. The recommendations should be applicable to the ***development of teacher resources*** to be usable by teachers across the OSCE region for teaching about and addressing anti-Semitism in the classroom, and which also take into account the inevitable interaction with broader environments in which classrooms are embedded.

6.1.2 The IHRA report on research on Holocaust teaching and learning referred to in Section 4.1.3 includes "Findings about Teachers and Teaching". While focused on the distinct and specific area of teaching and learning about the Holocaust, such findings generally resonate with what this project's more limited research has been able to identify about classroom contexts for anti-Semitism and education aimed at addressing it:

1. Educators teaching about the Holocaust come from diverse backgrounds. They are united by a high level of interest in the topic, a strong personal commitment to the issue and a desire for more training.
2. They feel insufficiently prepared to teach about the Holocaust and are unaware of existing resources.
3. Overall, their skills, knowledge and needs are under-researched (Eckmann, Stevick and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, eds., 2017: 401).

6.1.3 The research that informs the present report shows that points 2 and 3 above could also be affirmed in relation to teachers in classroom contexts when teaching about, and engaging with, anti-Semitism. The resources to be developed within the "Words into Action" project can address the teacher needs set out in point 2 above. The skills, knowledge and other needs of teachers regarding teaching and learning about anti-Semitism have been partially addressed in research carried out for this report, but also remain to some degree under-researched due to linguistic limitations impacting upon the literature review conducted for the project (see further under the recommendations in Section 9.5.3 of this report).

6.1.4 While, in many ways, this degree of resonance between education relating to the Holocaust and education relating to anti-Semitism should not come as a surprise due to their degree of overlap, the difference between them may at least partly explain why the research that informs the present report shows a perhaps more diverse level of teacher interest and engagement in relation to anti-Semitism than is stated in the IHRA's report with regard to Holocaust education. This may be because, in terms of social, political, religious and human norms, the Holocaust and other genocides are broadly recognized—except among Holocaust deniers—as being beyond the bounds of contestability. By contrast, the nature and extent of contemporary anti-Semitism, as well as its relationship with other foms of racism, discrimination and hatred, is subject to contestation even before one gets to the question of how best to address it. Since teachers themselves reflect their broad social constituency, they are not only individuals through whom educational initiatives can be deployed, but they are inevitably also themselves a key part of the challenges identified in relation to addressing anti-Semitism.

6.1.5 From the main body of the report, it can be seen that anti-Semitism remains a persistent reality of life in OSCE countries regardless of varying evidence in relation to trends in the frequency of reported incidents of anti-Semitism across different countries in the OSCE region. The forms that anti-Semitism takes can and do vary between countries, but in relation to what has been found concerning the issues involved in both teaching about it and addressing it in classroom contexts, a number of key points of resonance can be drawn out from the patterns of evidence

gathered in this report. In the next section, these are distilled into a number of identified challenges in relation to which recommendations have been made to guide the development by CEJI of teacher resources designed to address those challenges.

6.1.6 A common challenge across all countries involved in this project's primary research, including for both young people/students and teachers/educators in these countries, has been that of coming to terms with the specificities and varieties of Jewish identity. There is evidence that this has often been poorly understood. In addition, when these have been understood, they have not always been accepted as something in their own right, because they did not fit neatly into the pre-existing categories held by many in relation to the nature of, and distinctions between, religious, cultural and ethnic identity. Among other things, this has had an impact on the practicalities of establishing a common understanding of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, which then, in turn, can affect the identification and taking of measures (including pedagogical ones) to counteract it.

6.1.7 This is significant for the classroom contexts that are the main focus of this research because, while such contexts present pedagogical opportunities of a kind that are not always available in the same way within society in general, classrooms cannot be abstracted from their wider environments, including what transpires between young people and the interactions with school authorities outside of formal curriculum contexts. The research evidence points, not least, to the impact upon young people/students of their families and peer groups, as well as of the wider local communities and societies to which they belong.

6.1.8 Among the key aspects of these wider contexts that clearly emerged from across the countries where this research was conducted were both the challenges and the pedagogical opportunities that arise in an increasingly borderless electronic world. Thus, the project has identified evidence about the increasing importance of the Internet in relation to both the profile and spread of anti-Semitism. Young people use the Internet extensively as a source of information, while social media communications form an ever-more-present part of the lives of many of them. Anti-Semitic material on the Internet is problematic enough in terms of its recycling and reinforcement of anti-Semitic images and tropes, but it is also often relatively passive in its presentation and general in its effects. By contrast, social media can be much more personal and immediate in both its intentions and effects, including targeted anti-Semitic bullying, in ways that are not amenable to traditional forms of school discipline. Ensuring that students are aware of abuses of the Internet and social media and developing approaches to critical thinking that can enable the use of the Internet as a positive learning resource and enable students to respond to anti-Semitic targeting are therefore identified as key challenges, with associated recommendations.

6.1.9 The axis between classroom educational practice about anti-Semitism and classroom educational practice that is directly focused on addressing, challenging and overcoming manifestations of anti-Semitism is complex and challenging for teachers. In part, this relates to underlying educational frameworks and policies that inform the curricula that teachers use. But it also relates to teachers' sense of themselves as professionals and what is demanded of them in terms either of norms of academic neutrality or responsibilities in relation to students' personal, social and moral development. In schools that have mixed Jewish and non-Jewish student populations, there is the additional challenge of the extent to which teachers are trained, supported and able to manage tensions in the relationship between their role as educators and that of enforcers of school policies and/or discipline when individual Jewish students are harassed, discriminated against or marginalized because they are Jewish.

6.1.10 This is not least the case when, in the classroom, teachers encounter the phenomenon of what might be called "casual" anti-Semitism. The importance of this and of how to deal with it is not always recognized or, when it is recognized, is not always accorded the significance that it warrants. But it appears to be challenging for teachers in their work with students to be able to distinguish between ignorant comments, the use of anti-Semitic statements to rebel against convention or attract attention, the expression of settled prejudice, the use of more fully developed conspiracy theories and anti-Semitic acts and expressions that may also be illegal. At the same time, it is also a challenge for teachers to recognize and address potential or actual connections between all these, including the possibility of an escalating continuum.

6.1.11 Such considerations are also relevant to the challenge of establishing and understanding the connections between the historic Holocaust of the Jewish people in Europe and contemporary anti-Semitism. Teaching about the Holocaust and, in so doing, countering Holocaust denial is in itself important. At the same time, the project's research has brought into focus a gap that can often exist between, for example, teaching during visits to historic sites, the perceptions of teachers and young people and their understanding and evaluation of the growth of contemporary anti-Semitism. This can be seen in the research evidence from all the countries, but it is especially reflected upon, and highlighted by, young people/students in Germany, where the historical Holocaust and educational visits to sites associated with it have a well-embedded place in the curriculum, but are not always planned for or implemented in the most pedagogically productive ways, either in relation to historical learning or, in particular, to the contemporary relevance and salience of anti-Semitism.

6.1.12 There is evidence to suggest that one of the ways of addressing this can be to prepare students to engage with and understand the differences between the Holocaust and other forms of hatred, other genocides and other national traumas and their relationships. This is particularly important because the research—especially that from Belgium, but also to some extent from Germany—highlights the challenges that arise when the historic and continuing importance of addressing anti-Semitism gets caught up in competitive positioning with the historical and contemporary legacies of European colonialism and imperialism or other war-time experiences. These challenges can arise from the perspective of either young people or teachers, when their individual or collective memory is marked by enormous human trauma or conflict.

6.1.13 In a number of national contexts, there is evidence of a reluctance to engage with or to properly come to terms with anti-Semitism in relation to uncovering and acknowledging "hidden histories" of aspects of nationalist movements and/or "golden heroes". This pertains, in particular, to countries—including Moldova and Poland in this project research—that were previously within the political, economic and military sphere of the former Soviet Union. Because of this, ambiguities can be found either in relation to the period up to and including World War II or in post-communist developments, in which coming to terms with various Soviet stances on anti-Semitism has not been straightforward. The ambiguity can be seen in relation to expressions of at least some forms of anti-communist nationalism, in which anti-Semitic currents were not far below the surface, and to the role of some heroic figures within nationalist movements, who have also been associated with anti-Semitic views. Similar difficulties can be found in the national contexts of countries that, during World War II, fought against Nazi Germany and the Axis Powers, but did not always welcome Jewish refugees.

6.1.14 Especially (but not only) in Belgium, there is evidence that one of the most challenging things that teachers experience when trying to address contemporary anti-Semitism is that they appear to have considerable anxiety about how issues related to the Israel-Palestine conflict might play into this agenda, and they also have a strong sense of inadequacy in relation to their preparedness to deal with such issues. Although some might seek to completely separate Israel-Palestine issues from the question of addressing anti-Semitism in the OSCE region, in practice such separation is rarely possible. Regardless of any position that may be taken on the so-called new anti-Semitism in relation to Zionism and the state of Israel, both migratory and other international ties between various groups, as well as global media coverage, mean that issues in one part of the world cannot be isolated from those in another. The research shows that these issues at the very least have a contextual bearing on how well teachers are equipped to address anti-Semitism.

6.1.15 Overall, in both teaching about anti-Semitism and engaging with any manifestations of it in the classroom, the extent of teacher knowledge and the use of existing curricula and associated teaching materials relating both to Jewish identities and to the varied forms of anti-Semitism varies by country and sometimes within a country. The research shows that, in some countries and languages, appropriate curricula are available, together with human and material resources to support teachers. In other countries, however, such curricula and resources are more limited.

6.1.16 However, whatever might be the formal position with regard to curriculum development in their countries, most teachers have a sphere of professional activity in which they can—albeit to differing degrees in different countries and in different disciplines—make direct contributions to

young people's awareness about, and engagement with, anti-Semitism. Thus, another important challenge is how best to support the transfer of relevant knowledge and resources across varied geographical, historical and linguistic contexts, which is the aim of the development of the whole set of teacher resources.

6.1.17 Finally, it should be noted that, however well supported education in relation to anti-Semitism is at the level of governments, education ministries or civil society, and at whatever point in the spectrum of curricular centralization and professional teacher autonomy teachers find themselves in particular education systems, teachers throughout the OSCE region generally have at least some scope for professional autonomy. This is either in the context of their main disciplines and/or in setting broad student group tutorial sessions.

6.1.18 At the same time, whatever resources are available to them, teachers also face, more directly, personal challenges around how to address the issue of anti-Semitism in all its complexity, including in relation to their own familial, social, cultural and religious heritage. These challenges must also be considered in order to establish in teachers greater professional/ personal confidence, critical self-awareness and skills in recognizing their own and others' biases.

6.2 Identified classroom challenges and recommendations, and resources developed

6.2.1 In the next section, each identified challenge is presented as a brief headline accompanied by some explanatory commentary. Set parallel to each of these identified challenges is a recommendation for responding to each challenge that is being developed by the project researchers from their reflection on each challenge and the research findings that underlie it. The recommendations are intended to inform CEJI's development of teacher resources designed to address these challenges.

6.2.2 The order in which the challenges, recommendations and resources are presented has no particular significance, nor does it reflect any judgement concerning their relative importance.

6.2.3 Linked with each challenge and recommendation is proposed content for one or more of the teacher resources that are being developed by ODIHR and CEJI, as a response to the findings of this research.[44]

[44] The resources that are being developed address the following topics: increasing knowledge about Jews and Judaism; stereotypes and prejudices; conspiracy theories; hate speech online and media literacy; teaching contemporary anti-Semitism and other intolerance through Holocaust education; discourses of national memory ("hidden histories" and "golden heroes"); Holocaust denial, distortion, trivialization; anti-Zionism masking anti-Semitism; dealing with anti-Semitic incidents; addressing teachers' biases (including anti-Semitism).

7. Challenges, Recommendations and Associated Teacher Resources

Challenges	Recommendations and Associated Teacher Resources
Coming to terms with the specificities and varieties of Jewish identity The research found evidence that the diversity of Jewish identities was often poorly understood, with resulting confusion over the religious, cultural and ethnic dimensions of these identities. As a consequence, this has an effect on the practicalities of establishing a common understanding of the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, which, in turn, can impact on identifying and undertaking measures (including pedagogical ones) to counteract it.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should promote an understanding of the diversity of contemporary Jewish identities and also critical engagement with varying definitions of anti-Semitism and propose measures to counteract anti-Semitism within the context of the diversity of Jewish identities.* **Resources:** ***Increasing knowledge about Jews and Judaism***
Treating classrooms as an extension of the wider community with its specific challenges/opportunities The classroom is where the core educational interactions between teachers and young people take place regardless of the curricula required by the relevant education authorities. At the same time, when focusing on the classroom, it is important to be aware that the classroom cannot be abstracted from its wider environment. This includes what transpires between young people during recreational activities or at sports facilities; interactions with non-teaching staff, such as secretaries, cleaners, groundspeople and others, including, importantly, the head teacher/school director and/or the school's governing body or trustees. Finally, it is important to bear in mind the role and impact of students, families and peer groups, as well as of the wider local communities and societies to which they belong.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should include materials and guidelines for approaches that support classroom-focused teachers and their considerations of how both to teach about and address anti-Semitism in the classroom while also taking account of the interaction between the classroom and external environments.* **Resources:** ***Stereotypes and prejudices***
Ensuring that students are aware of abuses of the Internet and social media The project has identified evidence about the increasing importance of the Internet in relation to both the profile and rapid spread of anti-Semitism. Young people use the Internet extensively as a source of information, while social media communications form an ever-more-present part of the lives of many of them. Anti-Semitic material on the Internet is problematic enough in terms of its recycling and reinforcement of anti-Semitic images and tropes, but it is also often relatively passive in its presentation and general	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should assist teachers in developing the research, analytical and reflective skills necessary to help students recognize biased, false and inaccurate information while using the Internet as a helpful source of information on Jews and anti-Semitism, and to empower young people/students to deal with anti-Semitic targeting on social media.*

in its effects. By contrast, social media can be much more personal and immediate in both its intentions and effects, including targeted anti-Semitic bullying in ways that are not amenable to traditional forms of schoolyard discipline.	**Resources:** ***Hate speech online and media literacy*** ***Conspiracy theories***
Ensuring alignment along the axis of education about anti-Semitism and education to address anti-Semitism There is a tension along the axis between classroom educational practice about anti-Semitism and various aspects of it and classroom educational practice that is directly focused on addressing, challenging and overcoming classroom manifestations of anti-Semitism. Part of this relates to the underlying educational models and policies that guide teachers in the classroom. But it also relates to their sense of themselves as professionals and what is demanded of them in this regard, in terms either of norms of academic neutrality or responsibilities in relation to students' personal, social and moral development. Furthermore, it connects with the challenge of how, within schools that have mixed Jewish and non-Jewish student populations, teachers manage the relationship between their role as educators but also as enforcers of school policies and/or discipline when individual Jewish students are harassed, discriminated against or marginalized because they are Jewish.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should support teacher reflexivity in relation to the sometimes tense relationship between their professional obligations to communicate and develop objective learning among their students, on the one hand, but to instil human rights values, on the other.* **Resources:** ***Dealing with anti-Semitic incidents***
Differentiating between manifestations of anti-Semitism, while identifying potential linkages between them The phenomenon of "casual" anti-Semitism is not always recognized or, when it is recognized, is not always accorded the significance that it warrants. But it appears to be challenging for teachers in their work with students to distinguish between ignorant comments, the use of anti-Semitic statements to rebel against convention or attract attention, the expression of settled prejudice, the use of more fully developed conspiracy theories and anti-Semitic acts and expressions that may also be illegal. It is also a challenge for teachers to recognize and address potential or actual connections between all these, including the possibility of an escalating continuum.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should provide material that helps in both distinguishing and showing the potential connections between more casual, settled and fully developed anti-Semitic ways of thinking, speaking and acting.* **Resources:** ***Stereotypes and prejudices*** ***Conspiracy theories*** ***Holocaust denial, distortion and trivialization***
Establishing and understanding the connections between the Holocaust and contemporary anti-Semitism Teaching about the Holocaust and, in so doing, countering anti-Semitic Holocaust denial is in itself important and challenging. At the same time, the project's research brings into focus a gap between teaching in classroom settings and during visits to historic sites and teachers' and young people's perception, understanding and evaluation of the growth of contemporary anti-Semitism.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should include some guidance on how teachers can prepare young people to understand the continuity between verified historical forms of anti-Semitism and evidence of the nature and extent of modern anti-Semitism.* **Resources:**

	Teaching contemporary anti-Semitism and other intolerance through Holocaust education
Understanding relationships and differences between the Holocaust and other forms of hatred, other genocides and other national traumas The research highlights the challenges that arise when the historic and continuing importance of addressing anti-Semitism gets caught up in competitive positioning with the historical and contemporary legacies of European colonialism and imperialism or war-time experiences. This can arise from the perspective of either young people or teachers when their individual or collective memory is marked by enormous human trauma or conflict.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources need to equip teachers to be able to develop among their students a balanced and empathetic understanding of the elements of commonality and difference in both the content and the dynamics involved in anti-Semitism and other forms of injustice and hatred, and the Holocaust and other genocides or national suffering.* **Resources:** ***Holocaust denial, distortion and trivialization***
Uncovering and acknowledging hidden histories In a number of national contexts, there is evidence of a reluctance to engage with, or properly come to terms with, anti-Semitism on the part of certain historical and/or contemporary nationalist movements and/or heroic figures.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should identify examples of where this has been done and how it can be managed in ways that disrupt the perpetuation of such hidden histories, while supporting students in the process of asking questions that can be disturbing in the context of family, community, social or national inheritance, but which are required for proper critical assessment.* **Resources:** ***Discourses of national memory ("hidden histories" and "golden heroes")***
Discussing issues related to the Israel-Palestine conflict Even when teachers within the OSCE region are ready to address anti-Semitism, many have considerable anxiety about how issues related to the Israel-Palestine conflict might play into this agenda, as well as a strong sense of inadequacy in relation to their preparedness to be able to deal with such issues. Although some try to completely separate Israel-Palestine issues from the question of addressing anti-Semitism in the OSCE region, in practice such separation is rarely possible. Regardless of any position that may be taken on so-called new anti-Semitism[45] in relation to Zionism and the state	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources need to empower teachers to feel that they are ready to attempt to deal with the difficult issues arising from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which will also likely have an impact on how teaching about, and engaging with, anti-Semitism can be addressed pedagogically in classroom environments throughout the OSCE region.*

[45] This term was introduced by Chesler (2003) and Rosenfeld (2013 and 2015).

of Israel, both migratory and other international ties between various groups, as well as global media coverage, mean that issues in one part of the world cannot be isolated from those in another. The research shows that these issues have at the very least a contextual bearing on how teachers can address anti-Semitism in the OSCE region.	**Resources:** ***Anti-Semitism and the situation in the Middle East***
Extending teacher knowledge and the use of existing curricula and associated teaching materials The challenge of how to address anti-Semitism in educational contexts does not start from a blank canvas. In at least some countries and in some languages, appropriate curricula are available, and there are also resources to support teachers. In other local contexts, however, these are more limited, and wider examples are either not known or are not available in local languages. One important challenge is, therefore, supporting the transfer of relevant knowledge and resources across varied geographical, historical and linguistic contexts and also into the classroom environment where teachers have a sphere of professional activity in which they can—albeit to differing degrees in different countries/curricula systems and in different disciplines—make direct contributions to young people's awareness about engaging with and addressing anti-Semitism.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should inform teachers about how to be better aware of, to access and to appropriately deploy existing curricula and related resources from multiple country contexts and languages into those aspects of their classroom environments within which they can bring direct pedagogical influence and interventions to bear in addressing anti-Semitism.* **Resources:** ***The full set of teacher resources***
Supporting greater teacher professional/personal confidence, critical self-awareness and skills However well supported education in relation to anti-Semitism is at the level of governments, education ministries or civil society, and on whatever point in the spectrum of curricular centralization and professional teacher autonomy teachers find themselves in particular education systems, teachers throughout the OSCE region generally have at least some scope for professional autonomy, either in their main disciplines or in broad group tutorial sessions. But even when having appropriate resources available to them, teachers face professional (including personal) challenges around how to address the issue of anti-Semitism in all its complexity, including in relation to their own personal, familial, social, cultural religious and national heritage.	**Recommendation** *The teacher resources should provide both tools and evaluative indicators by which teachers can recognize, review and address their own professional, cultural and personal awareness, competencies, biases and needs in relation to anti-Semitism and addressing it pedagogically.* **Resources:** ***Addressing teacher bias (Including anti-Semitism)***

8. Evaluating the Research, Its Impact and Identifying Future Needs

8.1 Impact of the research

8.1.1 Apart from the issues identified in this report and their associated recommendations—the impact of which cannot be known until they are adopted and implemented—it should be noted that there is some evidence that simply carrying out the research has had at least some educational effect.

8.1.2 For example, while acknowledging the limitations of primarily qualitative approaches, the Belgium report (CEJI, unpublished, 2017: 25) noted that precisely because of such approaches: "In several cases, those that had felt the topic to be irrelevant or disproportionately treated at the beginning of discussions better understood the purpose and need for a wider discussion at the end. In this way, this research methodology has also served an educational purpose."

8.2 Scope for further work by ODIHR

8.2.1 This report focuses both on the challenges and the recommendations for addressing them that have been suggested by the research, and which should be taken into account in developing teacher resources that can help teachers in addressing anti-Semitism in OSCE classroom contexts. In the authors' judgement, there is sufficient evidence explored in this report to inform the development of relevant new teacher resources, especially within the broader context of the "Turning Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism" project.

8.2.2 At the same time, there could be value in ODIHR undertaking a multilingual review of relevant research evidence. This is because the bibliographical research that informed the present report was (as discussed in more detail in Appendix 2, section 9.5, below) largely limited to work published in English due to resource limitations. Thus, additional work of this kind could build on the example of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's extensive multilingual bibliographical research into teaching and learning focused on the Holocaust (Eckmann, Doyle, and Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, eds., 2017) within which it was noted that a multilingual expert team collected empirical research on teaching and learning about the Holocaust in "fifteen languages and conducted a scholarly, critical review of a selection of these studies. The multilingual nature of the project is crucial because it enables both cross-cultural discussions and the transfer of knowledge between various regions and countries."

8.2.3 Certainly in relation to the development of teacher resources to meet the challenges and respond to the recommendations identified in this report, it will be important that, after the production of initial core copies in English, they be translated into as many languages as possible so that they can be used in widely different linguistic contexts. In addition, it will be helpful if nationally oriented adaptations of the core resources can be developed to make them more directly applicable in local contexts.

8.2.4 Some other important matters arising from the research, such as the strongly articulated need, in some national contexts, for curriculum development work to take place are not the focus of this report. This is not to imply that such matters are not important; rather, such needs are addressed in other parts of the overall "Turning Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism" project, such as those concerned with the development of initial teacher training and in-service training curricula.

8.2.5 Finally, bearing in mind that UNESCO and ODIHR have jointly developed and recently published policy guidelines for governments and educational authorities in relation to education for addressing anti-Semitism,[46] if the voice of young people and students, teachers and educators as highlighted in this report can feed into the implementation of such policy guidelines, it will mean that their potential for making an effective connection between education policy and the issues of practice faced by teachers and students in classroom contexts will be enhanced.

[46] UNESCO/OSCE, *Addressing Anti-Semitism through Education: Guidelines for Policymakers* (Paris and Warsaw: UNESCO and OSCE, 2018), , <https://www.osce.org/odihr/383089?download=true>.

Appendix 1: Addressing anti-Semitism inside and outside classroom contexts in the United States of America

Table 2: Examples of resources cited as being used by teacher questionnaire respondents in the United States[47]

Activities

• Writing poetry, letters (for example, to Holocaust survivors), and essays.
• Analysing literature (such as *The Sunflower: On the Possibilities and Limits of Forgiveness* by Simon Wiesenthal), including:
  ○ content related to Jewish musicians before, during and after the Holocaust; *The Ladder of Prejudice*; *Irving v. Lipstadt Trial*; *The Cay*; Irene Gut Opdyke's *In My Hands*; *The Book Thief* by Markus Zusak; *Daniel's Story*; *Zion Passion Play*; *I Never Saw Another Butterfly*; *One Survivor Remembers*; *Hana's Suitcase*; *Paper Clips*; *The Merchant of Venice*; *Maus*; *The Hiding Place*;
  ○ news stories designed to deceive and create fear;
  ○ news articles about the desecration of synagogues;
  ○ informational articles regarding modern examples of anti-Semitism;
  ○ the definition of anti-Semitism by Wilhelm Marr.
• Exploring primary documents, e.g., from the time of the rise of the Nazis and US responses; *Devil's Arithmetic*; the 1927 American Jewish Committee's publication of Henry Ford's correspondence with the American Jewish Committee regarding Ford's anti-Semitism in *The Dearborn Independent*; a publication from the Jewish Historical Society of Michigan, Kenneth Waltzer's *Uneasy Years: Michigan Jewry in Depression and War*; Christoph Kreutzmuller's *Final Sale in Berlin: The Destruction of Jewish Commercial Activity, 1930-1945*; the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's entry on Charles E. Coughlin; Amitai Etzioni's *Kristallnacht Remembered: History and Communal Responsibility*; various resources from the University of Southern California's[48] Shoah Foundation; Upton Sinclair's *The Flivver King: A Story of Ford-America,* which touches upon Ford's anti-Semitism (it offers more of an economic critique than anything else); Anne Frank; *The Boy on the Wooden Box* (discusses the causes and effects of anti-Semitism); *Some Were Neighbours*; journals by Jewish teenagers from World War II; *Has God Only One Blessing* by Mary Boys, who argues that anti-Semitism has its roots in the Christian tradition; Howard Gardner's chapter on the Holocaust in *The Disciplined Mind*; Elie Wiesel's *Night*; Dan Cohn-Sherbock's *Holocaust Theology: A Reader*; a 1968 *New York Times* piece by Richard Eder titled "1492 Ban on Jews is Voided by Spain"; various resources from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (e.g., Gerard S. Sloyan's *Christian Persecution of Jews over the Centuries*; *All But My Life* by Gerda Weissman; Japanese internment camps; *Friedrich* for sixth graders (children associate themselves with a Jewish boy, which enables a conversation about anti-Semitism and community perspective on Mexicans); Perry and Schweitzer; Philip Roth; *To Kill a Mockingbird*, which is set in the same period as Hitler's rise to power; stories of Holocaust survivors, witnesses, rescuers, liberators; also themes that apply to fiction and non-fiction texts on tolerance that examine several examples of cultures, religions and other groups that have suffered from discrimination: Hispanics, Asians, African Americans, Jews, homosexuals, females, disabled people and people of low socio-

[47] Resources cited are those mentioned by respondents in the USA. This does not imply any endorsement or recommendation by the authors of this report.
[48] See the website of the University of Southern California's Press Room, <https://pressroom.usc.edu/how-to-counter-antisemitic-and-racist-movements/>.

Activities
economic status; information on and by the Ku Klux Klan; the treatment of Jews during the Plague, study the "Badges of Hate" poster; a discussion of six different poems by Holocaust survivors, victims and observers; writing an essay that asks students to identify a theme (life lesson) that they believe Elie Wiesel is trying to teach them by sharing his memoir with us, and apply that theme to solving a specific social problem in the world today.
• Engage students in discussions, e.g. discuss blood libel; the progression of the Nuremberg Laws; the Protocols of the Elders of Zion; contemporary examples of anti-Semitic propaganda and hate crimes such as a local example where a temple was vandalized, cemetery desecration or the protests in Charlottesville, VA; the Israel-Palestine conflict; white supremacy gatherings, hate crimes and issues of free speech; current acts of racism and eugenics in American history as having parallels to racism and eugenics carried out by Hitler. Discuss current forms of anti-Semitism using current hate-group websites, as well as images, videos, etc.
• Watch a film/documentary such as *Holocaust*; the biopic of Gerda Weissman Klein; *Schindler's List*; videos from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; *Swing Kids*; a video about Elie Wiesel and Oprah Winfrey's visit to Auschwitz; a TED talks video on Holocaust denial[49] (in which Deborah Lipstadt talks about soft and hard Holocaust denial); *Shoah***,** a 1985 French documentary film about the Holocaust; *The Boy in the Striped Pyjamas*; *Escape from Sobibor*; *Woman in Gold.*
• Assign students research activities on, for example, oppression, hate and the Holocaust (students take survivor stories and make multimedia presentations or videos about them).
• Invite guest speakers such as Holocaust survivors from all over the world via Skype and allow students to ask them questions, or engage students in a video chat conference with a Holocaust survivor (through a United States Holocaust Memorial Museum archival film)
• Visit museums such as Tulsa's Jewish Museum; the Illinois Holocaust Museum; the Museum of Tolerance in Los Angeles; the Holocaust museums in San Antonio and Houston, Texas; the Holocaust Museum in St. Petersburg, Florida; and visit the Virginia Holocaust Museum.
• Ask students to study photographs: adopt the photo activity from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum; show students present-day examples of anti-Semitic cartoons.
• Involve students in handicrafts and art activities such as designing some lessons about propaganda related to Nazi propaganda posters, making a butterfly garden to represent the people who were killed, buying each student a wooden Star of David and inviting them to create a message or picture of peace on their star and then hanging them on the classroom's peace tree.
• Invite students to the Annual Days of Remembrance Memorial at their local public library.
• Invite students to conferences organized by the Tennessee Holocaust Commission.
• Giving out leaflets and brochures.
• Theatrical projects.
• Games (such as those created by the United Nations) on refugees.

[49] "Behind the lies of Holocaust denial", TED website, <https://www.ted.com/talks/deborah_lipstadt_behind_the_lies_of_holocaust_denial/transcript>.

Appendix 2: Technical Details of Project Research with Young People/Students, Teachers/Education Professionals and Experts

9.1 Overview

9.1.1 As with all research, constraints arising from factors of timing and resources have a bearing on what is possible in relation to what might have been ideal. The individual interviews, focus groups and questionnaire research for this project were conducted at different times by different researchers and involved experts of various kinds, young people/students of varying ages and teachers/educators from various curriculum areas, and also from a limited number of locations within each country. This means that neither membership in the focus groups nor participation in completing the project questionnaire was based on stratified samples. Rather, they were the product of snowball recruitment.[50]

9.1.2 In all the countries where the research was conducted, across both Phases 1 and 2, in-country travel expenses were in principle made available to focus group participants, and light refreshments were provided. In Phase 1 of the research, focus groups and interviews were conducted by native speakers of the relevant language, while in Phase 2, qualified translators and interpreters were available to support focus groups and interviews in **Germany** and **Greece**. Some participants chose to speak in English, which accounts for some of the direct quotations in the text being expressed differently from what might be expected in standard English. Original examples have been preserved, but where potentially not clear to the reader in their original form, edited text appears in brackets to clarify the intended meaning.

9.1.3 The results of these research instruments have limitations that the report acknowledges. Nevertheless, this report reflects a range of OSCE contexts. The results of the primary research reported here add to the review of relevant published research about anti-Semitism and educational approaches and resources for addressing it. In particular, the report enables the direct human voices of teachers, young people and experts to be presented and thereby to impact the subsequent development of relevant teacher resources.

9.2 Details on the conduct of, and participants in, Phase 1 of the research

9.2.1 In **Belgium**, the research was conducted by CEJI - A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe. It took place between February and April 2017 in French-speaking contexts only. Focus groups were based on a non-exhaustive list of questions. Of the three focus groups that took place with students (involving 42 students in total), two took place in Brussels. One of these, at a Catholic school, involved three females and five males, aged 17-22. The other, at a Brussels technical school, involved nine girls in a girls-only group. The other focus group of 25 students was drawn from the Free School network in La Louvière, where the age range was 17-19. Across the focus groups, a substantial number of students of migrant familial background were involved, with one group consisting only of students of migrant background. Complementing the research with students, 32 education professionals took part in research that, in the end, was spread across two focus groups but also included observations of two two-day training groups for teachers on Judaism and anti-Semitism that were organized by CEJI: one in Brussels and one in the Liège region. Out of all of these, the first focus group in Brussels had four participants (three teachers and one other education professional) drawn from public schools and from the History, Social Sciences, Religion and Philosophy curriculum areas. The

[50] This is an approach to sampling for research whereby participants are identified through the research team's existing contacts, research partners and interviewed experts, the participation of which then leads to the identification of new contacts and participants.

second focus group had four teachers and three other education professionals drawn from Free Schools and from the History, Social Sciences and Languages curriculum areas. In relation to the observed training, one training course took place in Brussels with 10 teachers and two other individuals, while the other took place in Liège and involved nine teachers from all types of schools. Finally, 11 semi-structured expert interviews were conducted involving 27 individuals (some in group interviews) drawn from public institutions, academia, Jewish community organizations and civil society, teacher training bodies and the cultural and arts sectors.

9.2.2 In **Moldova**, the research was conducted in March 2017 by Olga Cosovan and Dominika Rank in the cities of Balti, Comara and Chisinau, using two-hour focus groups with students and 2.5-hour focus groups with teachers. Participants were drawn both from these cities and from neighbouring villages. In Chisinau, a number of individual interviews were also held. In total, this involved 29 students (14 females and 15 males) from grades 8 to 12, with the vast majority in grades 10-12; and 34 teachers (28 females and six males), all of whom taught History and other subjects (especially Civic Education) as well. Twenty-seven of the students also completed anonymous questionnaires. This was supplemented by interviews with eight experts/community representatives.

9.2.3 In **Poland**, Tomasz Kasprzak and Bartłomiej Walczak (affiliated with the Education Department of the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews) undertook research in December 2016 in the cities of Warsaw, Wrocław and Garwolin. Group interviews (of around two hours for students and 2.5 hours for teachers) and individual interviews were used, involving 33 students (20 females and 13 males) aged 14 to 18, and 25 teachers (13 females and 12 males) from the curriculum areas of History, Social Studies and Polish Language. This was supplemented by six individual in-depth interviews, conducted on the basis of anonymity, with experts on education addressing anti-Semitism.

9.3 Details on the selection of participants and conduct of the interviews in Phase 2 of the primary research

9.3.1 Building on Phase 1 of the research, which was conducted in (French-speaking) Belgium, Moldova and Poland, and bearing in mind the overall aim of producing a report that can be applied broadly across the OSCE region, the countries selected for the project's primary research in Phase 2 combined a variety of geographical locations with particularities in the historic and current forms of anti-Semitism expressed there, as evidenced in Section 2 of the report. **Germany** has, for obvious reasons, had both the opportunity and the responsibility to deal with its historical inheritance of the Holocaust, and is now facing challenges around how to engage new generations in addressing anti-Semitism. **Greece** is located in southern Europe, has a prevalance of anti-Semitic sentiment, is under severe socio-economic strain, and extreme far-right political activity recently emerged there. The **United States of America** is geographically outside Europe and has a mixed record in relation to recognizing the presence of anti-Semitism and addressing it.

9.3.2 The research related to **Germany**, **Greece** and the **United States of America** was planned and implemented by Professor Weller and Dr. Foster of the University of Derby in light of the University's code of practice and procedures on research ethics, integrity and good scientific practice.[51] It was approved by the relevant University Research Ethics Committee following scrutiny of, and amendments to, the originally proposed research instruments and associated documentation.

9.3.3 In Phase 2 of the research, focus groups consisting of teachers/educational practitioners and those consisting of students/young people were supplemented by online questionnaires that were overseen by Dr. Foster. The questionnaires were administered to provide supplementary evidence extending beyond the range of the more limited number and location of focus groups and interviews held in each country. Given the time and resource constraints, the

[51] "Research Ethics and Integrity", University of Derby website, <https://www.derby.ac.uk/research/uod/researchethicsandintegrity>.

questionnaires were distributed on a snowball basis, using existing networks of teachers and young people to whom the project gained access through links with project partners and recommendations from experts. The questionnaires were originally piloted in English in the United Kingdom and later issued in English as well in the United States of America. The German and Greek questionnaires were translated professionally and made available to respondents in German and Greek, respectively. Respondents completed the questionnaires anonymously and, where necessary, the responses were professionally translated into English for the researchers.

9.3.4 In **Germany**, Foster and Weller undertook research in October 2017 in Berlin and Munich. Focus groups of around one hour for students and one hour for teachers were held, involving 12 students (four females and eight males) aged 17 to 19, and 11 teachers (one female and 10 males) of English, History, Mathematics or Special Educational Needs. Eighteen teachers (eight males, 10 females) completed the project questionnaire, five of whom identified themselves as Jewish.[52] Out of the 16 young Germans who completed the project questionnaire (eight males and eight females), two of the respondents identified themselves as Jewish. The respondents comprised three young people aged 16-17, one aged 17-18, six aged 18-19 and six respondents over 19 years of age.

9.3.5 In **Greece**, Foster undertook research in September 2017 in Thessaloniki and Katerini. Focus groups of around one hour for students and one to one and a half hours for teachers were used. Overall, these involved 13 students (five females and eight males) ranging from 18 to 21 years of age and 30 teachers (17 females and 13 males). The teachers came from the Arts, Biology, Design, Economics, French, Geology, Greek Literature, History, IT/Mathematics, Philology, Physical Education, Religious Education and Physics, with many having been involved in education outside of schools as well. In Thessaloniki, the participants included six students (three females and three males) between 20 and 21 years of age and 11 teachers (six females and five males), and in Katerini seven students (two females and five males) between 18 and 19 years of age, and 19 teachers (12 females and seven males). Twenty-three teachers completed the project questionnaire (seven males and 16 females), with three identifying themselves as Jewish. Out of the 17 young people (nine males and eight females) who completed the project questionnaire, two identified themselves as Jewish. The ages of the respondents were 16 to 17 (seven respondents), 18 to 19 (four respondents) and over 19 (six respondents).

9.3.6 In the **United States of America**, Foster undertook research in October 2017 in Portland, Oregon. Focus groups took place, in person and via Skype, of around one hour for both students and teachers. They involved six students (one female and five males) between 19 and 21 years of age and six teachers (three females and three males) from the areas of Education, Business and Technology, but who were also involved in distance learning, TESOL (Teaching English as a Second Language) and SEN (Special Educational Needs). For logistical reasons, fewer interviews were conducted than originally planned, but this was compensated for by a large number of respondents completing the project questionnaire for teachers, totalling 328 teachers (241 females, 87 males), 52 of whom identified themselves as Jewish. Of the six (one male and five females) young Americans who completed the project questionnaire for young people, one identified as Jewish. Five were under the age of 17 and one was above the age of 19

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[52] In the project interviews of students and teachers and in the survey of students in Moldova, it is generally not possible to know how many participants/respondents were Jewish, in contrast with the surveys of students and teachers in Germany, Greece and the United States, which asked respondents if they identified as Jewish.

9.4 Expert Interviews

9.4.1 Across Phases 1 and 2 of the research, 53 expert interviewees were identified and interviewed, including from academia, public institutions, Jewish organizations and wider civil society groups. The selection of experts was primarily carried out on the basis of expertise in relation to anti-Semitism and/or educational engagement with the subject in relation to the countries in which the project's primary research was conducted. This included 27 expert interviewees from **Belgium** and six from **Poland**, who participated in the research there anonymously. No separate expert interviews were conducted in Moldova. In Phase 2 of the research, experts who could contribute a broader overview in relation to the OSCE region were welcomed. These latter expert interviewees were identified through networks of partners and colleagues and were conducted remotely using Skype or similar programmes, in English, by Dr. Foster or Professor Weller, and included three experts from **Germany**, three from **Greece** and six from the **United States of America**. The experts who were interviewed are described in the table of interviewees below, including their name, the name of their organization, their role within their organization and the name of the country concerned.[53] Interviewees were speaking in their expert professional capacities but were not necessarily representing the views or the positions of their organizations.

Table 4: Catalogue of project expert interviews

Expert Name	Organization (where applicable)	Role in organization	Type of organization	Country
Olivier Plasman	Unit «Démocratie ou barbarie», Council for the Transmission of Memory, Ministry of Education of the French Community	Deputy Director-General	Public institution	Belgium
Belen Sanchez-Lopez	Unit «Démocratie ou barbarie», Council for the Transmission of Memory, Ministry of Education of the French Community	Mission Head	Public institution	Belgium
Philippe Plumet	Unit «Démocratie ou barbarie», Council for the Transmission of Memory, Ministry of Education of the French Community	Mission Head	Public institution	Belgium
Yves Monin	Unit «Démocratie ou barbarie», Council for the Transmission of Memory, Ministry of Education of the French Community	Mission Head	Public institution	Belgium
Florence Pondeville	Unia (Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities)	Legal Adviser	Public institution	Belgium
François Sant'Angelo	Unia (Interfederal Centre for Equal Opportunities)	From the Individual Assistance Service[48]	Public institution	Belgium
Prof Mark Elchardus	Université Libre de Bruxelles	Fellow in Sociology	Academia	Belgium
Prof Joël Kotek	Université Libre de Bruxelles	Historian and political scientist	Academia	Belgium
Joel Rubinfeld	Belgian League Against Antisemitism	President	Jewish community	Belgium
Odile Margaux	Belgian League Against Antisemitism	Vice President	Jewish community	Belgium

[53] As noted in Section 9.2.3 and 9.4.1, six experts were also interviewed anonymously in Poland and so their names and organizations are not listed here. One expert from a public institution in Greece also requested to remain anonymous.

Yohan Benizri	Coordination Committee of Belgian Jewish Organizations	President	Jewish community	Belgium
Stéphanie Lecesne	CEJI - A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe	Training Co-ordinator	Civil society	Belgium
Simone Susskind	Actions in the Mediterranean	President	Civil society	Belgium
Hassan Ahmaidouch	Actions in the Mediterranean	Pedagogical Co-ordinator (and History teacher)	Civil society	Belgium
Estelle Duchesne	Centre d'Autoformation et de Formation Continue	Trainer (and former History teacher)	Teacher training	Belgium
Pascale Falek Alhadeff	The Jewish Museum of Belgium	Curator	Culture and arts	Belgium
Zahava Seewald	The Jewish Museum of Belgium	Curator	Culture and arts	Belgium
Ismael Saidi	*Djihad* (a play)	Playwright and director	Culture and arts	Belgium
Frédéric Crahay	Auschwitz Foundation	Director	Educational practice	Belgium
Johan Puttemans	Auschwitz Foundation	Mission Head	Educational practice	Belgium
Vinciane Georges	Merci Foundation	Director	Educational practice	Belgium
Martine Herman	Merci Foundation	Pedagogical Co-ordinator	Educational practice	Belgium
Pierre Yves Hotton	Merci Foundation	Pedagogical Co-ordinator	Educational practice	Belgium
Ina van Looy	Jewish Secular Cultural Center (CCLJ)	Director of the CCLJ's Centre for Citizenship Education (Centre'd'Education à la Citoyenneté)	Educational practice	Belgium
David Stoleru	Beit project	Director	Educational practice	Belgium
Milena Valachs	Beit project	Pedagogical Co-ordinator	Educational practice	Belgium
Kevin Haddad	The European Peer Training Organisation	Pedagogical Co-ordinator of its (joint) project (with CEJI) Pairs & repères pour construire la Bruxelles de demain	Educational practice	Belgium

Juliana Wetzel	German Delegation of the Task Force for International Co-operation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research. Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies Expert Board on Anti-Semitism of the German Bundestag	President Member of the Executive Board Member	Civil society	Germany
Rosa Fava	Jewish Museum in Berlin	Research Fellow/teacher trainer	Civil society	Germany
Dervis Hizarci	Kreuzberger Initiative Against Anti-Semitism	Chairman	Civil society	Germany
Sultana Zorpidu	Culture 8, Cultural City and Nature Guided Tours of Kastoria	Founder and leader of the programme, archaeologist/cultural scholar with studies and academic experience in Greece and Germany	Private sector	Greece
Eirini Stypsianou	Independent Researcher	Historian and researcher on the Jews of Thessaloniki	Private sector	Greece
Dr. Igor Sharov	Ministry of Culture, Republic of Moldova	Vice-minister and author of 2009 and 2013 history textbooks for high schools	Public institution	Moldova
Corina Lungu	School Education Division, Ministry of National Education	Adviser	Public institution	Moldova
Dr. Viorica Goraș-Postică	Pro Didactica Educational Center	Vice President	Non-Governmental public organization	Moldova
Victor Demian	The Institute of Culture Heritage of the Moldovan Academy of Sciences	Historian	Academia	Moldova
Dr. Diana Dumitru	'Ion Creanga' State Pedagogical University, Chisinau, Department of World History, Faculty Member. Studies Holocaust Studies	Professor	Academia	Moldova
Aliona Grossu	"Jewish Community of the Republic of Moldova"	Senior Adviser	Jewish community	Moldova
Irina Shihova	Jewish Museum in Chișinău	Director	Jewish community	Moldova
Maria Sirkeli	Pilgrim-Demo, Comrat/Autonomous Territorial Unit (ATU) Gagauzia	Program Coordinator (projects for promoting democratic values and human rights)	Civil society	Moldova

Naomi Mayor	Anti-Defamation League	Director of Campus and Community Education Programs	Civil society	United States of America
Aryeh Tuchman	Anti-Defamation League	Expert on Anti-Semitism in the United States	Civil society	United States of America
Dr. Jonathan Cohen	National School Climate Centre in New York	Co-founder and President (and Professor, Columbia University)	Educational practice	United States of America
Steve Wessler	Human Rights Training, Advocacy and Conflict Resolution	Consultant and Trainer	Educational practice	United States of America
Jennifer Lemberg	The Olga Lengyel Institute for Holocaust Studies and Human Rights	Associate Director	Educational practice	United States of America
Dr. Günther Jikeli	Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism, Indiana University	Visiting Associate Professor and Justin M. Druck Family Scholar	Academia	United States of America

9.5 Bibliographical Research

9.5.1 With regard to bibliographical research, the reports submitted to ODIHR in Phase 1 of the research identified some key texts for the national contexts of the research with reference to the challenges of anti-Semitism in **Belgium**, **Moldova** and **Poland**. Most of these key texts were in English, although there were also some in French, German, Greek, Polish, Romanian and Russian, and the majority of these are included in the relevant country sections in the bibliography at the end of these appendices. Phase 2 of the research enabled a more systematic search and review of research, practice and practical examples relevant to anti-Semitism and to addressing it in classroom contexts in relation to **Belgium**, **Germany**, **Greece**, **Moldova**, **Poland** and the **United States of America**, and across the OSCE region as whole.

9.5.2 This review was undertaken by Professor Weller. It was a desk-based and primarily electronic review, focused especially on current and recent relevant research and evaluation literature published mainly in English dealing with the nature, manifestations and reproduction of anti-Semitism (and related phenomena, such as anti-Judaism), especially in classroom environments. This included a review of existing initiatives and exemplar practice in educational approaches and resources for engaging with, preventing and/or addressing anti-Semitism. In some instances, where the research and other literature concerned was particularly seminal and/or had not been superseded by more up-to-date research and/or pedagogical approaches, account was also taken of older research and publications.

9.5.3 In line with the linguistic competencies and limitations of the research team, alongside those in French, Polish and Romanian identified in Phase 1 of the research, some account was also taken of a number of publications in German. Overall, however, the focus is on English-language publications.

9.5.4 The literature identified in the research that informed this report includes a limited number of more quantitative studies (which may or may not yield information on the so-called effect sizes, or quantitative measure of the strength of a phenomenon) of particular interventions to address anti-Semitism) and qualitative studies (which may provide insights into why delivery models of particular interventions might work).

9.5.5 The literature references are set out according to specific country contexts when referring to the project's key themes with relevance to the OSCE in general; to those with relevance to European countries more broadly that are participating States of the OSCE; and to **Belgium**, **Germany**, **Greece**, **Moldova**, **Poland** and the **United States of America** in particular; as well as by literature on anti-Semitism and on educational contexts and measures for addressing it with more general relevance than the specific case-study countries included in this research.

9.6 ODIHR expert and consultative meetings and partner interactions informing the report

9.6.1 In addition to findings from the desk-based research and literature review, from the interviews with experts, from focus groups with teachers and young people, and from the project questionnaires completed by teachers/educators and students/young people, the University of Derby research team shared its developing approach and emerging findings for critical feedback with the staff of CEJI, ODIHR and with experts and practitioner groups convened by ODIHR. This was done to ensure that the research as it was implemented was open in an appropriately iterative way to modifications in the light of expert feedback.

9.6.2 The first Expert Group meeting on "Exploring Educational Policies and Supporting Tools Needed to Address Anti-Semitism within Educational Systems of the OSCE Region", held in Belgrade on 15-16 November 2016,[54] identified a number of key parameters for the educational component of the overall "Turning Words into Action to Address Anti-Semitism" project. The

[54] "Addressing anti-Semitism through education the focus of OSCE/ODIHR workshop in Belgrade", OSCE website, 18 November 2016, <http://www.osce.org/odihr/282626>.

report on this meeting was made available to the University of Derby researchers and informed their initial project planning.

9.6.3 The researchers from the University of Derby then participated in a working-level consultative meeting on “Exploring Challenges and Solutions for Teaching About Intolerance, Bias, Prejudice, Anti-Semitism and Related Subjects in the OSCE region”, held in Heidelberg on 13-14 June 2017. At this meeting, they presented an outline of their proposed Phase 2 research and received feedback, while also listening to, and participating in, the meeting’s wider debates about initial teacher training and in-service needs, including an initial draft presented by Carfax Education of a curriculum model that was being developed to guide the development of a teacher training tool within the framework of the overall project.

9.6.4 The lead project researcher attended the second Expert Group meeting on “Exploring Educational Policies and Supporting Tools Needed to Address Anti-Semitism within Educational Systems of the OSCE Region”, held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris on 10-11 July 2017. At this meeting, he presented and received feedback on key findings and recommendations from Phase 1 of the research reports submitted to ODIHR on (French-speaking) **Belgium**, **Moldova** and **Poland**, and on a more developed outline for the proposed Phase 2 of the research. He also took note of the experts’ discussion about the kind of tools to be developed to aid teachers to prepare for the classroom context, the draft model for a teacher training curriculum mentioned above, and the draft framework for education policy guidelines, which was also an output of the “Words into Action” project.

9.6.5 The lead researcher also attended the third Expert Group meeting on “Exploring Educational Policies and Supporting Tools Needed to Address Anti-Semitism within Educational Systems of the OSCE Region”, held in Warsaw on 25-26 September 2017, at which he presented and received feedback on the emergent findings and recommendations of this report, while also noting the direction of UNESCO and ODIHR’s draft education policy guidelines.

9.6.6 The lead researcher participated in a symposium held in Berlin on 24-25 October 2017 titled “Antisemitism at School – a Constant Problem? Strategies for Action and Ideas for Empowerment” (“Antisemitismus an der Schule – ein Beständiges Problem? Handlungstrategien und Empowermentkonzpete”), organized by the Competence Centre for Prevention and Empowerment of the Central Welfare Board of Jews in Germany (Kompetenzzentrum Prävention und Empowerment der Zentralwohlfahrstelle der Juden in Deutschland e.V.) in which a number of German experts in the field and more than 100 German teachers and other education professionals took part.

9.6.7 Finally, the lead researcher presented the key research findings to teachers, representatives of teacher training institutions and school directors at consultative meetings on “Developing Curricula that Prepare Teachers/School Directors Across the OSCE Region to Address Intolerance, Bias, Prejudice, Anti-Semitism and Related Subjects Through Education”, convened by ODIHR at the National Institute of Education in Bratislava, Slovakia, on 19-21 June 2018.

Appendix 3: Selected Bibliography

10.1 Introduction

10.1.1 Clearly, there is a vast range of published material that could be included in this project bibliography. Generally speaking, only material that was consulted directly in the course of the project's research is included.

10.1.2 While Holocaust education clearly overlaps to a significant degree with the focus of this report, this bibliography does not attempt to systematically include the details of this overlap. This is because the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's 2017 report[55] already covers this in a comprehensive way and can be referred to in the original report rather than being duplicated here.

10.1.3 After the "General bibliography" section, specific bibliography sections follow on anti-Semitism in general, anti-Semitism in Europe, anti-Semitism in Belgium, anti-Semitism in Germany, anti-Semitism in Greece, anti-Semitism in Moldova, anti-Semitism in Poland and anti-Semitism in the United States of America, followed by a section on education related to anti-Semitism. In each of the sections except the last one, there are two parts to the bibliography, with the first part covering books, reports, articles and book chapters, and the second part including a selection of references to newspapers and websites.

[55] M. Eckmann, S. Doyle and J. Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, J. (eds.), *Research in Teaching and Learning About the Holocaust: A Dialogue Beyond Borders* (Berlin: Metropole Verlag, 2017), <https://holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/research_in_teaching_and_learning_about_the_holocaust_web.pdf>.

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